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and Minerals.

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**By Mr. SALMON.**

---

**VOL. XVIII.**

Contains the HISTORY of ENGLAND,  
from the Reign of RICHARD II. to that of  
HENRY VIII. being about the Space of 150 Years.  
With Reflections on the Partiality and Errors in a late  
HISTORY, publish'd under the Name of  
RAPIN.

---

Illustrated with CUTS.

---

**L O N D O N :**

Printed for THO. WOTTON, at the *Three Daggers*  
and *Queen's Head* against St. Dunstan's Church ;  
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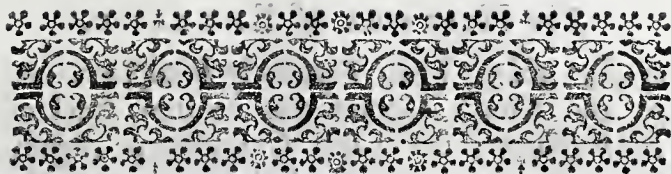








RICHARD. II.



T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
E N G L A N D.

---

C H A P. XXII.

*Contains the Reign of RICHARD II.*



PON the Demise of the *A.D. 1377*  
Crown, *Richard* the only  
surviving Son of *Edward*  
*the Black Prince*, and *A. 1 R. 2.*  
Grandson of the late King  
*Edward III.* was unani-  
mously recogniz'd and  
proclaim'd King of Eng-  
*King Ri-*  
*chard's*  
*Accession.*

land. The Privy Council, with the Concur-  
rence of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,  
taking the Administration of the Govern-  
ment into their Hands at the King's Accessi-  
on, who was then but in the eleventh Year of  
his Age, and no Guardian assign'd him by his  
Grandfather: The first thing agreed on, was  
to make Preparations for the King's Corona-  
tion, which was perform'd on the 16th of Ju-  
ly, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in West-  
minster-  
VOL. XVIII. B



*A.D.* 1377 *minster-Abbey*, when *Thomas of Woodstock*, one of the King's Uncles was created Earl of *Buckingham*; the Lord *Guiscard de Angoulême*, his Governor, Earl of *Huntington*; the Lord *Tho. Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*; and *Henry Percy* Earl Marshal, Earl of *Northumberland*. The Solemnity of the Coronation being over, the Privy Council and the Peers assembled the Day after, and appointed twelve Persons to take upon them the Administration of the Government, (*viz.*) 2 Bishops, 2 Earls, 2 Barons, 2 Bannerets, and 4 Knights Batchelors, as appears by an Act of State in *Rymer's Fædera*, dated the 20th of *July*, 1377. And it is observable, that none of the King's three Uncles were of the Number, tho' they had the greatest Share of the Government in their Hands, and indeed the Direction of the twelve Regents; but they seem industriously to have avoided transacting any thing in their own Names, that they might give no Colour to a Surmise which was become pretty general already, that some of them had a design upon the Crown.

A Regency  
appointed.

The French  
burn the  
Towns on  
the Coast.

In the mean time, the *French* taking Advantage of the King's Minority, and the unsettled State of Affairs in *England*, equipp'd out a Fleet, insulted the Coast, and burnt the Town of *Rye* before the Coronation was well over, and the Ministry still making no Preparations for their Defence by Sea or Land, they return'd again in *August*, ravag'd the *Isle of Wight*, and oblig'd the Inhabitants to pay them 1000 Marks for sparing their Houses, *Carisbrook-Castle* only escap'd, which was bravely defended by *Sir Hugh Tyrrel*. The Enemy afterwards burnt *Hastings*, *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plimouth*; and the

Prior

Prior of *Lewis* in *Suffex*, who engag'd them with a Body of the Militia, was defeated, and carried Prisoner into *France*. On the other hand, *Winchelsea* was defended against their Attacks by the Abbot of *Battel*, who had thrown himself into the Town, with some of the neighbouring Gentry. The *Scots* in concert with the *French*, made Incursions into the *English* Borders without Opposition; and probably the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Cambridge*, who had in reality the Management of all Affairs, intended to give the Nation a Specimen of the Misfortunes they were to expect under the Government of a minor King, imagining the People would be induc'd thereby to cast their Eyes upon the Duke of *Lancaster*, as the only Person able to protect them, and that they would have advanced him to the Regency, if not to the Throne itself; but however successful the Duke was in ruining his Nephew in the Opinion of the People, he himself never reap'd the Advantage of this accurs'd Policy; tho' his Son whom he had instructed in these wicked Arts, many Years afterwards, had the good Fortune to depose his Cousin and usurp his Throne.

A.D. 1377

A. 1 R. 2.

The Scots enter the English Borders.

The Parliament assembling in *October*, a new Regency was appointed, consisting of the Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, among whom were the King's three Uncles, the Duke of *Lancaster* was so little belov'd, and suspected of sinister Designs, that he had not Interest enough to get the Administration lodg'd in him and his two Brothers, and when the Parliament voted a Supply for the Defence of the Nation they order'd it to be paid into the Hands of *John Philpot* and *William Walworth*, two

A new Regency appointed.

*A.D.* 1377 Aldermen of *London*, that it might not be misapplied; but the Duke of *Lancaster* pretending afterwards, that he could not make Levies for the Defence of the Kingdom while the Revenue was lodg'd in other Hands, he had it assign'd over to him. He found means also to get his Friend Mrs. *Pierce* recall'd, whom this Parliament had thought fit to banish. At the same time he is charg'd with putting his Nephew the King into such Hands as would improve him in nothing but vicious Habits, and render him odious to his Subjects, which the Duke look'd upon as another important Step towards his own Advancement. As an Instance of the Duke's Power and Influence, the Historians of those Times relate, that he sent two Knights to the Tower, viz. Sir *John Shakel* and Sir *Robert Hawley*, because they would not deliver up the Earl of *Denia*, a *Spanish* Prisoner, to him, and when the two Knights had made their Escape out of the Tower, and taken Sanctuary in *Westminster-Abbey*, he order'd them to be dragg'd from thence by Force, in attempting which, *Hawley*, who defended himself, was murder'd, with a Monk that endeavour'd to save him, and yet the Murderers were not prosecuted. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* indeed excommunicated the Actors, but the Duke prevented their feeling any ill Effects of these Censures. It is reported to the Honour of the Earl of *Denia*, about whom all this Contest was, that having taken an Oath to the Knights whose Prisoner he was, not to discover himself, he attended them in a Footman's Habit, and by that means conceal'd himself from the Duke of *Lancaster*, till his Ransom was paid to the surviving Knight by the Government.

Had

*A.D.* 1378

*A. 2 R. 2*

The Duke's  
arbitrary  
Administration.



Had not the Duke of *Lancaster* attended his private Interests, much more than those of the Publick, the Affairs of the *English* would have been in no bad Situation at this time, for the King of *Navarre* having fallen out with the *French* Court, actually put the Port of *Cherburgh* in *Normandy*, into the Hands of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Salisbury*; and the Duke of *Bretagne*, whose Subjects were weary of the *French* Yoke, offer'd to introduce the *English* into that Province; but still the *French* continu'd to insult the Coasts, and make Prize of our Merchants, and even Privateers and Pirates observing that the Government fitted out no Fleet to protect their Trade, snapp'd our Ships whenever they ventur'd out of Port. Whereupon Alderman *Philpot* fitted out a Fleet at his own Expence, and cruising to the Nortward, clear'd those Seas, and brought home Prisoner, a famous *Scotish* Pirate, who commanded no less than fifteen Sail of Ships of War, which gain'd him great Applause, and the Ministry as many Curses, for not protecting the Trade of the Kingdom; and the Duke of *Lancaster* was so exasperated, that a private Man should enter upon such an Enterprize without Authority from the Government, that *Philpot* was call'd to an Account at his return; but he made such a handsome Apology for himself, that his Judges acquitted him with Honour, and the Government was censur'd by the Populace for this shameless Prosecution, as they deserv'd.

A.D. 1378

A. 2 R. 2.

The King of *Navarre* puts *Cherburgh* into the Hands of the *English*.

Alderman *Philpot* takes a *Scotish* Pirate and 15 Ships.

At length the Duke of *Lancaster* assembled the Navy Royal, and taking a Body of Land Forces on board, sail'd to the Assistance of the Duke of *Bretagne*. *St. Malo*, which was then

*A.D.* 1378 then in the Possession of the *French*, was first  
*A. 2 R. 2.* besieg'd by him, but the Constable of *France*  
 coming to the relief of that Place, he was  
 forc'd to retire from thence: Whereupon the  
 Duke of *Bretagne* receiv'd an *English* Gar-  
 rison into *Brest*, that they might not want a  
 Place of Arms. And I find the *English* mount-  
 ed some Cannon upon the Walls, for there is  
 an Order of State in *Rymer*, dated 16 *March*  
 1378, which requires that *Brest* be furnish'd  
 with four *Ingenia* or Cannons, with Salt-petre,  
 Sulphur, and other Materials for making  
 Gun-Powder. It is possible that both the  
*French* and *English* might use Ordnance some  
 little time before, but it is evident they did  
 not till the latter end of the War, in the  
 Reign of King *Edward III.* This is the first  
 Instrument however we find upon Record,  
 that mentions Great Guns, and Small Arms  
 were not then come into play. While the  
*French* and *English* were disputing for *Bretagne*,  
 the *Scots*, according to antient Custom, enter'd  
 the *English* Borders, and surpriz'd *Berwick*;  
 but were driven out of it again within ten  
 Days by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his  
 Son the Lord *Percy*, who from his furious  
 Attacks obtain'd the Name of *Hotspur*. The  
 Plague which broke out soon after in the  
 North, induc'd both Nations to consent to a  
 Truce on that side.

*Berwick*  
 taken by  
 the *Scots*  
 and re-  
 taken.

*A.D.* 1379 The Parliament being encouraged by the  
*A. 2 R. 2.* Discontents of the King of *Navarre*, and the  
 Subjects of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the For-  
 ces of *England* having got Footing both in that  
 Province and *Normandy*, they granted a confi-  
 derable Supply for carrying on the War against  
*France*, which was rais'd on the Clergy, No-  
 bility and Gentry (the common People being  
 exempted)

exempted) by way of Poll Tax. The Nobility and Mitred Abbots payed Ten Marks a Head, every Monk three shillings and four pence, and others in Proportion to their Revenues. At the same time the *French* King declaring *Bretagne* forfeited to the Crown of *France*, and the *Bretons*, expecting to be treated as a conquer'd Province, united in their Defence, and recalled their Duke from Exile, whereupon he was attended to *Bretagne* by a Detachment of *English* Troops.

A.D. 1379  
A. 2 R. 2.  
APollTax.

The D. of *Bretagne* recall'd by his Subjects.

The following Year the Duke of *Buckingham*, Sir *Hugh Calverly*, Sir *Robert Knowles*, and several other experienc'd Generals, embark'd at *Dover*, with eight or ten thousand Men, and landing at *Calais*, march'd through *Picardy* and *Normandy* into *Bretagne*, burning and plundering the Country all the way without Opposition: So very wise was *Charles* King of *France*, that he would never venture a Battel with the *English*, in Defence of his Subjects. This seasonable Reinforcement defeated the *French* King's Project of uniting *Bretagne* to the Crown of *France* at this Time, and put Duke *Montfort* into the Possession of that Dutchy again, after he had been expell'd several Years. The Town of *Brest* however still remained in the Possession of the *English*.

A.D. 1380  
A. 3 R. 2.

The *English* march thro' *France* with 8000 Men, into *Bretagne*, and restore the Duke.

In the mean time the *Scots*, by way of Diversion, enter'd the *English* Borders again, but were repulsed: and *Charles* the *French* King dying on the 16th of *September* this Year, and leaving an Infant on the Throne, the War with that Kingdom might have been carried on with great Advantage; had not the Duke of *Lancaster* sent an Army under the Command of his Brother the Earl of *Cambridge*, to the Assistance of the King of *Portugal*,

*Charles the Wise*, K. of *France*, dies.

An Army sent to *Portugal*, under the E. of *Cambridge*.

gal,



*A.D.* 1381 *gal*, which should have been employ'd against *France*. The Duke propos'd, that these Forces, join'd with those of *Portugal*, wou'd have been able to have set him upon the Throne of *Castille*, which he claim'd in Right of his Wife *Constance*, K. *Peter's* Daughter ; and this he look'd upon to be of more Importance to him than any Acquisitions that might have been made by the *English* in *France*. Thus the Publick was sacrific'd to his private Views. The Duke however foreseeing that the People would murmur, if the *Scots* continu'd their Incursions, when the Forces that should repel them were sent to *Portugal*, went himself to the Borders, to endeavour to procure a Prolongation of the Truce ; but while he was absent in this Negotiation, and the Earl of *Cambridge* with the *English* Army on their Voyage to *Portugal*, there happen'd an Insurrection at home, that had very near subverted the very Frame of the Government ; the principal Occasion whereof is usually said to be the levying a Poll Tax, that was granted the preceding Sessions, with too much Rigour : Every Person, how mean soever, above fifteen Years of Age, was oblig'd to pay this Tax, which one of the Collectors demanding of one *Walter*, a Tyler or Bricklayer of *Dertford* in *Kent*, and he insisting that he ought not to pay for his Daughter, who was under fifteen Years of Age, the Collector, in order to see if she was of Age or not, rudely threw the Girl's Coats over her Ears ; at which her Father was so enraged, that he beat out the Collector's Brains with a Hammer he had in his Hand, and expecting to be call'd to a severe Account, he endeavour'd to make it a common Grievance, and spirited up

The D. of  
*Lancaster*  
negotiates a  
Truce with  
*Scotland*.  
An Insur-  
rection on  
the levying  
a Poll Tax,  
by *Wat Ty-*  
*ler* and *Jack*  
*Straw*.



up his Neighbours in his Defence ; in which he had such Success, that being join'd by another bold Fellow, of no better Extraction, and usually call'd *Jack Straw*, and by one *Ball*, a Priest, whom they let out of *Maidstone* Jail, and the Villains or Vassals belonging to the Nobility and Gentry, they form'd a Body of an hundred thousand Men, at the Head of which this *Walter* the Tyler, generally called *Wat Tyler*, march'd and encamp'd at *Blackbeath*, within four Miles of *London*. Here *Ball*, the Priest, preach'd them a Sermon, very agreeable to such an Audience ; for as the Multitude was compos'd chiefly of Slaves or Villains, and the meanest of the People, who pretended to rise in order to reduce all Mankind to a Level, and deliver themselves from a State of Servitude, he took the common Proverb for his Text, viz. *When Adam dug, and Eve span, where was then the Gentleman ?* from whence he inferr'd, that it was never the Intention of Heaven, that one Part of Mankind should be Slaves to the other ; and accordingly they were taught, that it was their Duty to destroy the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, Magistrates, and all that pretended to lord it over them ; the four Orders of begging Fryars only were to be spared ; and they bound themselves by an Oath, never to obey a King whose Name was *John*, striking particularly at the Duke of *Lancaster*, to whom they ascrib'd all the Misfortunes that had happen'd in this Reign, particularly the burning and ravaging the maritime Counties, from whence this Mob was chiefly rais'd.

A.D. 1381

A. 4 R. 2.

*Ball's Sermon to the Rebels.*

The King sending to know what they demanded, it was answer'd, that they would speak with his Highness, and desir'd he would

*A.D.* 1381 come to them and hear what they had to offer ; but the King was advis'd not to trust his Person amongst them, particularly by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Lord Treasurer *Hales*, who were soon after made sensible of the Rebels Resentment. From *Blackbeath* they march'd to *London* on the 12th of *June*, and the next Day entering the Bridge Gate, they set open all the Prison Doors, and burnt and demolish'd the Houses of those they esteem'd their Enemies, and particularly the Duke of *Lancaster's* Palace of the *Savoy*; which they destroy'd with all the rich Furniture; and to shew they scorn'd to be thought Robbers, they burnt one of their Companions in the Flames of the Duke's Palace for endeavouring to conceal a Piece of Plate. They afterwards demolish'd the Temple, with all the Lawyers Books and Papers, and then set Fire to the great Priory of St. *John's* at *Clerkenwell*, of which the Lord *Hales* was Prior. After which they divided themselves into three Bodies, one of them being posted at *Heyburn* Manor, another at *Mile-End*, and the third, commanded by *Wat Tyler*, on *Tower-hill*. The King, with several of the Nobility, ventur'd the next Day among those of *Mile-End*, promising to grant whatever they demanded ; and upon their desiring that their Persons and Lands might be enfranch'd, the King order'd Charters to be drawn up accordingly, with which they were satisfy'd and return'd home. He offer'd to grant the same Favour to those who were assembled at *Tower-hill* under *Wat Tyler*, but he was busied in attacking the Tower, and having by his Threats oblig'd the Garrison to open the Gates, he dragg'd the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer *Hales* from

*A.D.* 1381*A. 4 R. 2.*

The Rebels come to *London*.

Burn the *Savoy*, the *Temple*, &c.

## II

The King  
pacifies the  
Rebels.

Several Bodies of them  
in *Norfolk*  
and *Suffolk*  
suppress'd.



*A.D.* 1381 *vendish* the Chief Justice ; and a fourth Body in *Norfolk*, commanded by *John Littlister* a Dyer, who oblig'd the Nobility and Gentry to attend him, and pay him the same Respect as a Crown'd Head. But the Bishop of *Norwich* assembling a good Body of Troops, dispers'd the *Norfolk* Rebels, as the Lord *Percy* did those of *Suffolk*, and the Chiefs were made Prisoners, particularly the two Priests *Straw* and *Ball*, who were try'd and convicted of High Treason before the Lord Chief Justice *Trefilian*, and afterwards executed in *Smithfield*. They confess'd they design'd to have destroy'd the King and all the dignify'd Clergy and Nobility, and then to have divided the Nation into several petty Kingdoms, of which their Leaders were to have been the first Sovereigns ; from whence it appears they would have laid aside their levelling Principles as soon as they had possess'd themselves of the Sovereign Power. In short, they did not like their servile Condition, and therefore desir'd the Cards might be shuffled again ; and had they once establish'd their Tyranny, would have expected a more absolute Submission than their former Governors, as we find the Rebels did who depos'd and murder'd King *Charles I.* on the very same levelling Principle.

This Rebellion being thus happily suppress'd, the King Knighted the Lord Mayor *Walworth*, Alderman *Philpot* and some other Aldermen, who had appear'd most active in his Defence, and settled Lands on them as a Reward of their Services, and soon after revok'd all the Charters and Grants which the

The D. of *Lancaster* concludes a Truce with the *Scots*. Mob had extorted from him. The Duke of *Lancaster* in the mean time had concluded a Truce with the *Scots* ; and happy was it for him

him that he was in the North of *England* during this Insurrection, for the Fury of the Rebels seems to have been chiefly levell'd against him, and he would probably have been first sacrific'd to their Rage if they had found him in *London*.

A.D. 1381  
A. 4 R. 2.

This Conspiracy of the lowest of the People, who were Villains or Vassals to the Nobility and Gentry, it appears had been for some time plotting and contriving; tho' they did not assemble in such Numbers, and break out into actual Rebellion till the landing of the *French* in the Maritime Counties, and the Poll-Tax was levy'd on them with that Rigour as has been mention'd. For we find an Act of Parliament in the first Year of this Reign, in the Preamble whereof it is recited, that the Villains and Bondsmen, who held of their Lords by base Tenures, had withdrawn their Services, and confederated together in such manner that Justice could not be done upon them, whereby the Lords were depriv'd of their Rents and Services: And as it is thereby enacted that such Offenders should be imprison'd without Bail or Mainprise till their Lords should consent to release them, this probably was the Foundation of their Rage against the Government, and the Nobility and Gentry, whose Vassals or Bondsmen they were.

An Act made against Villains and Bondsmen in the Beginning of this Reign.

And this Year there pass'd an Act, declaring the Manumissions extorted by the Rebels void, and that the Authors of such Tumults and Riots should for the future be adjudg'd guilty of High Treason.

Their Manumissions declar'd void, and made Treason to excite Tumults. A Subsidy granted.

The same Sessions a Subsidy was granted of two Shillings on every Tun of Wine imported, and six Pence in the Pound on all Merchandize

*A.D.* 1381 chandize, to be apply'd to the Sea Service,  
*A. 4 R. 2.* and paid into the Hands of Sir *John Philpot*,  
*John Polimond* and *Thomas Beaupeny*, that it  
 might not be misapply'd.

An Act for imprison- An Act also pass'd, empowering the King  
 ing Hereti- to grant Commissions for apprehending and  
 cal Preach- imprisoning Heretical Preachers, who went  
 ers. about the Country perverting the People from  
 the establish'd Religion, and exciting Sedi-  
 tions and Insurrections, by whom were pro-  
 bably meant the Disciples of *Wickliff*, who  
 were charg'd by some with having been con-  
 cern'd in these Insurrections, but with very  
 little Probability, inasmuch as the Fury of the  
 Rebels was chiefly against the Duke of *Lan-*  
*caster*, the Protector of the *Wickliffites* or *Lol-*  
*lards*. These Hereticks, it appears, were to be  
 try'd by the Prelates and Ecclesiastical Judges,  
 and to remain in Custody till they were ac-  
 quitted by those Courts. *Rapin* affirms the  
 King granted these Commissions without the  
 Assent of the Parliament, and builds much  
 upon that Circumstance, which is not agree-  
 able to the Character of a Writer who pretends  
 to so much Exactness.

*Rapin* mi-  
 staken in  
 his Account  
 of this Mat-  
 ter.

*A.D.* 1382 The King was married on the 14th of *Ja-*  
*5 & 6 R. 2.* *nuary* the Year following to the Princess  
*Anne*, Daughter of the Emperor *Charles IV*,  
 and Sister to *Winceslaus*, then Emperor of *Ger-*  
*many*, to whom he gave ten thousand Marks  
 for his Alliance, instead of receiving a Por-  
 tion with his Queen.

The *Portu-* In the mean time the Forces in *Portugal*  
*gal* Expedi- under the Command of the Earl of *Cam-*  
 tion comes bridge, enabled that King to make an advan-  
 to nothing. tagious Peace with *Spain*; but neither the  
 Duke of *Lancaster* nor the Nation reap'd any  
 Benefit from that Expedition proportionable  
 to the Charge they had been at. The



The next War *England* was engag'd in was that with the Anti-pope *Clement*, whom the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Flemmings*, had set up against *Urban*, supported by all the other Powers in *Europe*. *Urban* had made a Crusado War of it, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, who was General of the *English* on this Occasion, prevail'd on the Parliament to give a handsome Subsidy for the Support of it, suggesting that this Expedition would tend to reduce the Power of *France*. But the Bishop having transported a fine Army of forty thousand Men to *Calais*, instead of marching into the Heart of *France*, as was expected, attack'd the Towns upon the Coast of *Flanders*; which the *English* Parliament not approving, and refusing to grant him any farther Supplies, he was oblig'd to return to *England*, and the King seiz'd his Temporalties, under Pretence that he had not obey'd Orders.

A.D. 1383  
6 & 7 R. 2  
The Parliament give Supplies for the War against *Clement* the Antipope.

The King being yet very young, (about sixteen) and exceeding fond of his new Queen, is censur'd pretty severely by some of our grave Historians, for lavishing away great Sums upon the *Bohemians*, her Relations and Countrymen; and a chargeable Expedition to *Scotland*, in which the *English* got nothing but dry Blows, was made another Subject of Complaint. The Duke of *Lancaster*, who commanded that Army, was on his Return charg'd with High Treason in a Parliament held at *Salisbury*, by a Carmelite Fryar. According to the Deposition of this Monk, the Duke had form'd a Design to destroy the King and usurp the Crown; but the Fryar was found murder'd in a most barbarous Manner the next Morning, and the Duke protesting his Innocence, the King was advis'd to take no farther

The King censur'd for his Gifts to the *Bohemians*.  
A.D. 1384  
7 & 8 R. 2  
*Lancaster's* fruitless Expedition to *Scotland*. He is accus'd of high Treason.

Notice



*A.D.* 1384 Notice of it ; however, the Court still retain'd such a Suspicion of his ambitious Views, that  
 7 & 8 R. 2 a Design was laid (as 'tis said) to take him off privately ; but this did not succeed, if it was ever intended. The Duke was sent soon after He is sent on an Embassy to France with great Expence. to negotiate a Peace with *France*, and being to maintain the Port of King of *Castile*, he spent fifty thousand Marks in the Voyage, and at last obtain'd only a Truce of three Months. *Berwick* was lost by Treachery and Surprize about the same time, and recover'd again in like Manner.

*A.D.* 1385 The next Year *England* was threatned with  
 8 & 9 R. 2 a formidable Invasion from *France*, and to draw off the King's Troops from the Southern Shores, a Detachment was embark'd for *Scotland*, to join the Forces of that Kingdom, and attack the Northern Counties ; but an Insurrection of the *Flemmings* disappointing their intended Invasion, the *French* contented themselves with reinforcing the *Scots* ; whereupon King *Richard*, at the Head of a gallant Army, march'd into the Heart of *Scotland*, driving the *French* and *Scots* before him, till they took Refuge in their Mountains ; after which he burnt the City of *Edinburgh*, and all the open Country, and return'd to *England*. The Duke of *Lancaster*, 'tis said, wou'd have had the King march'd to the utmost Limits of *Scotland*, as his Grandfather *Edward* III had done ; but the Court apprehending this Advice was given with a Design of destroying the Army, and to give the Duke an Opportunity of putting his ambitious Projects in Execution, it was not attended to.


King *Richard* repulses the *Scots* and burns *Edinburgh*.

*Dr. Wickliff* dies.

This Year died the reverend and learned *Dr. John Wickliff*, at his Living of *Latterworth* in *Leicestershire*, to the great Joy of the  
 the

the Fryars; his Disciples growing so numerous, that they began to think their Craft in Danger. But tho' he met with powerful Protectors in his Life-time, his Bones were dug up forty Years afterwards by a Decree of the Council of *Constance*, and burnt as the Remains of a notorious Heretick.

The Lord *Holland*, Half-Brother to the King, happening to kill the Son of the Earl of *Stafford* in a Quarrel in the last Expedition to *Scotland*, the King was so concern'd at the Death of this young Nobleman, who had been bred up with him, that he declar'd he wou'd not pardon his Brother, but suffer Justice to take its Course. Whereupon the King's Mother, the Princess of *Wales*, came to beg her Son, the Lord *Holland's* Life, which being refus'd her, she fell sick and died within two or three Days, which had such an Effect on the young King, that he alter'd his Mind, and granted his Brother's Pardon.

A.D. 1385  
8 & 9 R. 2  


The Princess of *Wales*, the King's Mother, dies.

*Ferdinand* King of *Portugal* dying about this Time without any other legitimate Issue than *Beatrice* Queen of *Castile*, the King her Husband insisted on her Right to that Crown, and marching into *Portugal*, laid Siege to the Capital City of *Lisbon*, which was defended by *John the Bastard*, Son to the late King, whom the *Portuguese* had acknowledg'd for their Sovereign, rather than come under the Dominion of their mortal Enemies the *Castilians*. In this Distress, *John*, the new King of *Portugal*, offer'd to acknowledge the Duke of *Lancaster* King of *Castile*, if the Court of *England* would furnish him with a Body of Troops to make a Diversion in his Favour; accordingly a Parliament was call'd, which concurring with the Court to remove the Duke to

The King of *Portugal* desires the Assistance of the *English* against the King of *Castile*.

*A.D.* 1385 some Distance from *England*, granted a Fifteenth towards the Charges of the War, insisting at the same time, that the Clergy should grant a Tenth. And when the Convocation shew'd their Uneasiness that the Parliament shou'd take upon them to prescribe what Supplies they were to give, the Commons petition'd, that the Ecclesiasticks might be depriv'd of their Temporalties; to which the King answer'd, that he was oblig'd by his Coronation Oath to defend the Rights of the Church; and so the Matter went off, and the Clergy afterwards voluntarily contributed a Tenth, which they observ'd was beyond their Proportion, there being no Reason they shou'd be tax'd higher than the Laity. Several Honours were conferr'd by the King during this Sessions; *Edward* Earl of *Cambridge*, one of the King's Uncles, was created Duke of *York*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Buckingham*, another of his Uncles, Duke of *Gloucester*; *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, a great Favourite of the King's, was created Marquis of *Dublin*, with a Grant of all the Revenues of *Ireland*, paying to the Crown the annual Sum of five thousand Marks (this was the first Marquis made in *England*); *Michael de la Pole*, another of the King's Favourites, was created Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; and, according to some Writers, *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, was declar'd presumptive Heir to the Crown, on Failure of Issue of King *Richard*. This *Roger* was the Son of *Philippa*, only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, second Son of King *Edward* III; and this Declaration probably was made, that the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was the third Son of *Edward* III, might no longer think of advancing.

*A.D.* 1385  
8 & 9 R. 2

The Commons petition that the Ecclesiasticks might be depriv'd of their Temporalties.

Creations of Nobility.

*R. Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, declar'd Heir to the Crown.



vancing himself to the Throne of *England* by his Practices against the present King, of which he was vehemently suspected, both by the Court and Parliament, as well as by the Common People.

A.D. 1385  
8<sup>th</sup> 9 R. 2

The King of *Armenia* coming into *England* about this time, to negotiate a Peace between *France* and *England*, that both Monarchs might turn their Arms against the Infidels, tho' he did not succeed in that Particular, yet he obtain'd a Pension of twenty thousand Marks of the Court of *England*.

A Pension  
settled on  
the King of  
*Armenia*.

The following Year the Duke of *Lancaster* embark'd for *Spain*, with his Wife *Constance* and his two Daughters. The Duke and Dutcheß were now stil'd King and Queen of *Castile*, and as the King presented his Uncle with a Crown of Gold, so the Queen gave the Dutcheß another. Their Army consisted of twenty thousand Men, among whom were several Noblemen of the first Rank. In their

A.D. 1386  
9<sup>th</sup> 10 R. 2  
Duke of  
*Lancaster*  
embarks  
with an Ar-  
my for *Ca-  
stile*.

Way they made a Descent at *Brest* in *Bretagne*, which that Duke was besieging, pretending it ought to have been surrender'd to him by the *English* on the Conclusion of the War with *France*: And having reliev'd this Fortress, the Fleet set Sail for *Corunna* (the *Groyne*) in *Galicia*. The *English* meeting with little Opposition here, made themselves Masters of *Compostella*, the Capital City of that Province, and entering into an Alliance offensive and defensive with the King of *Portugal*, the better to cement it, the Duke married *Philippa*, his eldest Daughter, to the King of *Portugal*. I shou'd have remembred, that Pope *Urban* having a particular Spleen against *Henry*, the reigning King of *Castile*, for supporting his Competitor, *Clement* the Antipope, had san-

His Success  
in *Galicia*.

*A.D.* 1386 Etified this Expedition of the Duke of *Lancaster* against *Castile*, and granted Remission of Sins to all his Officers and Soldiers, which induc'd the *English* the more readily to engage in that Quarrel.

*England*  
threatned  
with an In-  
vasion from  
*France*.

In the mean time, *Charles* the *French* King observing that the *English* Generals, with their best Troops, were remov'd at so great a Distance from *England*, was determin'd once more to attempt the Conquest of that Kingdom, for which he at this time made the greatest Preparations that ever were known: He drew down an hundred thousand Men to the Coast of *Flanders*, where he had assembled above a thousand Sail of Ships, and had fram'd a wooden Wall twenty Feet high, and three Miles in Circumference, with Towers at proper Distances, for the Security of his Camp, Part of which was taken afterwards by the *English* at Sea, and plac'd about the Town of *Winchelsea*. King *Richard* receiving Advice of these Preparations, summon'd all the Vassals of the Crown, and there appear'd at the General Rendezvous upwards of two hundred thousand Men; but the Parliament being assembled to furnish Supplies against this threatening Danger, instead of granting any, reproach'd the King with his Favours to the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Lord Chancellor *De la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and assur'd him they wou'd raise no Money till these Lord were displac'd; at which the King was so provok'd, that he declar'd he wou'd not turn out the meanest Scullion in his Kitchen on their Remonstrances; and indeed it does not appear that they had any thing material to charge these Favourites with, unless it were that they possess'd those Places which five discontented Lords, who had

TheParlia-  
ment quar-  
rel with the  
Admini-  
stration in-  
stead of  
granting  
Supplies.

had spirited up the Paliament to make this Demand, expected shou'd have been conferr'd on them. In short, they let the King know, that unless he chang'd his Ministers, they wou'd depose him, and set up another King in his stead, (having their Eye probably already on *Henry Earl of Derby*, the Duke of *Lancaster's* Son, who was one of the five threatning Lords).

The King finding himself unprovided to oppose them, was oblig'd to consent to discard the Earl of *Suffolk*, and send away the Duke of *York* to *Ireland*; whereupon they granted half a tenth and half a fifteenth, to be put into the Hands of the Earl of *Arundel*, another of the disaffected Lords, for the Defence of the Coast; but had not the *French* been prevented embarking by contrary Winds, and the Practices of the Duke of *Berry*, who did not come to the Rendezvous till after *Michaelmas*, the Nation had infallibly fallen a Prey to *France* by this unseasonable Sedition of the five Lords; for the Forces assembled to oppose them were forc'd to disperse for Want of Money. They charge the King indeed (upon what Proofs I cou'd never learn) with calling in the *French* to his Assistance; but it is apparent they themselves wou'd have sacrific'd the Nation to *France*, rather than not have had their Revenge on the Ministry; and probably by fishing in troubled Waters they thought they shou'd soonest obtain their Ends, and set the Earl of *Derby* on the Throne.

They oblig'd the King, as it was, to accept of a Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Privy Seal, of their chusing, and to these and eleven other Lords to delegate his Power. These were to have the Disposal of his Revenues, to enquire into the Misapplication

A.D. 1386

9 E 10 R 2

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They force  
the King to  
discard his  
Ministers.

The French  
Invasion  
disappoint-  
ed.

The Male-  
contents ob-  
lige the King  
to put him-  
self into the  
Power of a  
Committee  
of Lords.



*A.D.* 1386 *9 & 10 R. 2*  
 plication of them, to censure the great Officers of State and Ministers of Justice, and even to regulate the Affairs of his own Palace; so that in effect the King was depriv'd of his Sovereignty, and little better than a Prisoner, which he was not insensible of, and therefore when the King pass'd this Act, he did it with a Protest that it shou'd not be to the Prejudice of his Prerogatives. It was evident that his Highness was under a Force when he made these Concessions, for the Parliament was no sooner up than he recall'd the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Suffolk*, and express'd a greater Esteem for them than ever; *Suffolk* particularly, 'tis said, was allow'd to sit at Table with him, des'd and attended like a Sovereign Prince. It is pretended also, that he encourag'd his Favourites to take off the Duke of *Gloucester* and the chief of the disaffected Lords by Poyson at an Entertainment in the City; but of this there is very slender Proof, and probably it was a Tale invented only to justify their Disaffection. The Lords who were at the Head of this Faction against the King, were the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Earl of *Arundel*.

*A.D.* 1387 *10 & 11 R. 2*  
 It was with the Earl of *Arundel* the Parliament trusted the last Supply for the Defence of the Coast, who had the good Fortune to take a Fleet of an hundred Merchant-Men, consisting of *French*, *Spaniards* and *Flemmings*, and nineteen thousand Tun of Wine: He also rais'd the Siege of *Brest*, which gain'd this Admiral and the rest of the Malecontents a great Reputation among the Populace, and consequently was but of little Service to the Court, where our Historians complain he was receiv'd



receiv'd but coldly after these important Services : But if it be consider'd that this was one of the Lords who had extorted the Administration of the Government and the Revenue out of the Hands of his Majesty, it cannot be suppos'd he shou'd be very acceptable to him.

A.D. 1387

10 & 11 R. 2



The Duke of *Ireland*, who had married *Philippa*, the Daughter of *Ingelram de Concy*, Earl of *Bedford*, and Grandaughter to *Eward* the Third, divorcing that Lady about this Time, this was made another Subject of Discontent ; and the Duke of *Gloucester*, it seems, vow'd to be reveng'd for this Dishonour done his Niece ; but the Duke of *Ireland* and the Court, 'tis said, were determin'd to be before-hand with him : Indeed the Contention run so high between the Court and the disaffected Lords, that there was no Hopes of a Reconciliation. The King and his Favourites were busied in contriving how to re-establish themselves in the Administration of the Government, while the Malecontents were determin'd to maintain the Authority they had usurp'd. The King therefore retiring to *Northampton*, consulted with the Sheriffs of the respective Counties, what Measure he shou'd take ; he enquir'd of them if they cou'd not raise Forces sufficient to protect him against the Insults of the Faction ; or, if they cou'd not, so far influence the Election of the House of Commons, as to return a Majority that wou'd be favourable to his Interests ; to both which Demands the Sheriffs answer'd, that the Lords had such an Interest in their several Counties, that they cou'd not promise to serve him. Then the King propos'd it to the Judges and principal Lawyers, whether he might not resume his

The Court and the disaffected Lords come to Extremities.

ancient

A.D. 1387 ancient Prerogatives, since he had been compell'd by Force to yield to the Demands of the Malecontents; to which the Judges unanimously answer'd he might; but being desir'd to sign their Opinions, it seems, they hesitated a little, as knowing the Lords wou'd take a severe Revenge upon them; and on this Occasion it is reported, that Judge *Belknap* said, that now he wanted nothing but a Hurdle and a Halter towards his Execution, foreseeing it wou'd not be long delay'd, if the Lords prevail'd.

The five  
Lords raise  
an Army of  
40,000  
Men.

The Malecontents were not ignorant of the Contrivances of the Court to suppress their Insolence, and rescue the King out of their Power, whereupon they immediately assembled their Friends and Vassals, and making a Body of forty thousand Men, they advanc'd as far as *Highgate* in their Way towards *London*, whither the King, who was now at *Westminster*, sent to demand what they wou'd have, and why they were assembled in that hostile Manner. The next Day the five Lords having obtain'd a safe Conduct, attended the King at *Westminster*, and declar'd they were assembled for the Good of the King and Kingdom, and to root out those who were Traitors and Enemies to both, and particularly demand'd Justice against the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Archbishop of *York*, the Lord Chief Justice *Tresilian*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, an Alderman of *London*. The King hereupon promis'd that they shou'd recieve Satisfaction in these Articles the next Parliament, but at the same time demanded by what Authority they levy'd Arms against their Sovereign: He endeavour'd however afterwards to pacify them with good Words, and they withdrew in

They demand Justice against the King's Ministers.

in, appearance pretty well pleas'd with their Reception, but did not think fit however to dismiss their Troops. The King soon after dispatch'd the Duke of *Ireland* into *Wales*, to endeavour to raise Forces to protect him against these Insults of the Lords, of which the Earl of *Derby* receiving Advice, attack'd the Duke in his March towards *London*, and having defeated his Army, the Duke fled over into *Flanders*, and the King shut himself up in the Tower, waiting there for an Opportunity, as 'tis said, to embark for *France*, where he propos'd to take Refuge, and avoid the Pursuit of his rebellious Subjects; and if we may credit his Enemies, had actually agreed to deliver up *Calais* to the *French* King, in consideration of his Assistance to defend his Prerogatives. But whatever the King might intend, the five Lords having quarter'd their Army about the City of *London*, compell'd his Highness to resign himself to their Disposal, to banish the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Chichester*, and several temporal Peers of his Council, and even some of the Ladies of the Court they did not like, threatening to dethrone him and elect another King if he did not comply with their Demands.

A.D. 1387

10 & 11 R 2

They defeat the K's. Forces command- ed by the Duke of *Ireland*.

A.D. 1388

11 & 12 R 2

They compel the King to banish some of his Ministers and put others to Death.

The Confederate Lords also having oblig'd the King to issue out his Writs for the assembling a Parliament, to be held at *Candlemas*, so influenc'd the Elections, that the Members were entirely at their Devotion. The next Step they took was to compel the King to meet them, and ratify by their Authority what the five Lords had already done, and to take a more ample Revenge on their Enemies. Accordingly they order'd the Judges to be arrested as they sat upon the Bench in

They procure a Parliament to ratify their Proceedings.


A.D. 1388 *Westminster-Hall*, particularly, *Fulthorp*, *Belknap*, *Holt*, *Burgh*, *Cary* and *Laiton*; as to  
 11 & 12 R. 2 the Chief Justice *Tresilian*, he conceal'd himself some little time.

A.D. 1389 The first thing that the Parliament went upon was to confirm all that the disaffected  
 12 & 13 R. 2 Lords had done. They also rais'd a Tax on  
 who raise a Tax for the Use of the Malecontents. Wool and Leather, out of which they paid the five Lords twenty thousand Pounds, as a Reward for their Services in the Reformation of the State. Then they proceeded to impeach the Archbishop of *York*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Chief Justice *Tresilian*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, of High Treason; and the Chief Justice being betray'd by one of his Servants was apprehended and drawn on a Sledge to *Tyburn*, where the Executioner cut his Throat, according to his Orders. Sir *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the King's Household, Sir *Simon Burley*, Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, and several other great Officers of State were put to Death also, without being allow'd a legal Tryal. The Duke of *Ireland* and the Earl of *Suffolk* being fled beyond Sea, had their Estates confiscated, and the rest of the Judges who sign'd the Opinion at *Northampton* were banished to *Ireland*, from which rigorous and arbitrary Proceedings this Convention obtain'd the Name of *The Unmerciful Parliament*; tho' in the Opinion of most Men they could hardly be call'd a Parliament; the King being all this time under a Force: nor were the Proceedings at all Parliamentary, or agreeable to the Laws of *England*, for it appears by the Statute Book, that the Duke of *Ireland*, Chief Justice *Tresilian*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Brambre*, and the Archbishop of *York*, were not impeach'd by  
 the

Several  
 great Officers of State  
 illegally  
 executed.



the Commons, but by the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Derby*, and the other three disaffected Lords; who, as the Record recites, had assembled Forces, and compell'd the King to permit these Executions, and give up his Servants into their merciless Hands: And being conscious they might one day be call'd to an Account for the Force they had put upon the King, they made his Highness pass an Act of Pardon for the said five Lords and their Adherents: They also condescended to pass an Act, that none of the rest of the King's Adherents shou'd for the future be call'd to an Account for their Actions, unless the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and about twenty more of the King's Friends, whom they excepted by Name: And these the King was by the same Act restrain'd from pardoning. And lastly the King was oblig'd to renew his Coronation Oath, and the Lords renew'd their Oaths of Allegiance, after which the Parliament broke up the 4th of *June*.

A.D. 1389  
12 & 13 R. 2  


The Lords make the King pass an Act of Pardon for them and their Adherents.

While the Malecontents were thus usurping more than Sovereign Power, the *Scots*, who never let slip such favourable Opportunities, invaded the Northern Counties, whom *Henry* Lord *Percy* encountering, kill'd their Leader Earl *Douglas*, with his own Hand, but was afterwards overpower'd and made Prisoner by the Earl of *Dunbar*. On the other Hand, the Earl of *Arundel* insulted the *French* Coasts, and took a great many of their Ships, which produc'd a Treaty between *France* and *England*, and a Truce for three Years was at length agreed on, in which the *Scots* were included.

The War renew'd with *France* and *Scots* land.

A 3 Years Truce.

The King being now arriv'd at full Age, had the Spirit to discharge the Lords who had taken upon them the Guardianship of his Person during his

The King takes the Government into his Hands.

*A.D.* 1389 his Minority, and displac'd the great Officers they had put about him: He turn'd out the Chancellor, and constituted the celebrated *William of Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor in his stead; but 'tis said he was not so happy in the Choice of the rest of his Ministers as cou'd have been wish'd, tho' possibly their greatest Faults were their being in a different Interest from the disaffected Lords. Soon after these Alterations at Court, arriv'd the Duke of *Lancaster* from *Spain*, where he had carried on the War so successfully, that he compell'd the King of *Castille* to pay him the Sum of 600,000 Livres for the Charges of his Expedition, and to give him Security for the Payment of 40,000 Livres *per Annum*, during his own and the Dutcheſs's Life, and the Life of the Survivor; and lastly, the King of *Castille* married his Son to the Duke's Daughter, *Katherine*, and the Succession was settled first upon the Issue of that Marriage, and in Default of such Issue, upon the Children of the Duke of *York*, who had married the other Daughter of *Peter*, late King of *Castille*, in consideration whereof the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Lancaster* relinquish'd their Claim to the Crown of *Castille*, and return'd to *England*, where the King receiv'd him in appearance with Abundance of Affection, and not long after conferr'd on him the Dutchy of *Guienne*, where he made his Residence for some time; while his Son the Earl of *Derby*, ambitious of Glory, or rather for fear of being call'd to an Account, went a Voluntier to the Wars in *Prussia*.

The Duke of Lancaster marries his Daughter to the King of Castille's Son.

He is made Duke of Guienne.

At a Parliament held this Year, the former Statutes of Provisors and \* Præmunire were not only enforc'd, but it was enacted, That if any Person went out of the Realm to procure a Benefice by way of Provision, he should be out of the King's Protection, and his Benefice void. And by another Statute, if any one accepted a Benefice obtain'd contrary to the said Statutes, he should incur a Præmunire.

A.D. 1390  
13 & 14 R. 2  
The Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire enforc'd.

The Parliament gave the King a Supply this Year, which was expended chiefly in a chargeable Embassy of the Duke of Lancaster's to France to treat of Peace; but he obtained only a Truce for a Year. The Expences of the King's Court also in magnificent Festivals and Tournaments are observ'd to be exceeding great at this time; ten thousand Men, 'tis said, were daily entertain'd at the King's Expence, and the Queen was no less profuse. These Expences occasioning a want of Money, the King applied himself to the City of London to lend him a thousand Pounds, but was rudely refus'd; and a Lombard offering to lay down the Sum, was shamefully beat and abus'd by the Citizens; which so provok'd his Highness, that for this and another Riot committed in the Streets about the same time, he seiz'd on their Pri-

A.D. 1391  
14 & 15 R. 2

The King refus'd 1000 l. by the City.

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\* A Præmunire is so call'd from the Words Præmunire facias in the Writ, and whoever incurs a Præmunire, forfeits his Personal Estate and his Lands, and is liable to perpetual Imprisonment. This was the Punishment of those who were concern'd in procuring Livings and other Ecclesiastical Preferments from the Pope provisionally, to the prejudice of the true Patrons. And of those who appeal'd to the Pope, or sued in any Ecclesiastical Court, where the Courts of Common-Law had Jurisdiction.

*A.D.* 1391 *vileges*, turn'd out the Magistrates, and appointed them a Governor, removing the  
*14&15 R. 2* Courts of Justice from *London* to *York*, till  
 Their Pri- the Citizens thought fit to humble themselves,  
 vileges and pay the King a Fine of ten thousand  
 takenaway Pounds. They presented the King also with a  
 for a Riot, Crown of Gold, and the Queen with ano-  
 but restor'd ther; whereupon their Privileges were re-  
 on their stor'd.  
 Submission

*A.D.* 1393 The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester* were  
 sent over to *France* again the following Year,  
*15&16 R. 2* to negotiate a Peace between the two Crowns,  
 and as they were to make a Figure suitable to  
 their Quality, a Supply was granted by Par-  
 liament to defray the Charges of it; tho'  
 The French Charles the French King becoming Lunatick,  
 King mad. they returned without effecting any thing.

*A.D.* 1394 This Year was remarkable for the Death  
 of several Ladies of the Royal Family. The  
*16&17 R. 2* King lost his beloved Queen *Anne*, at which  
 he express'd a more than ordinary Concern,  
 The Queen pulling down the Apartment in the Palace of  
 and the *Richmond*, where she died, and would never  
 Dutcheis reside there afterwards: And the Dutcheßes  
 of Lan- of *Lancaster* and *York*, and the Countess of  
 caster die. *Derby* died within a few Weeks after the  
 Queen.

*A.D.* 1395 The *Irish* having recourse to Arms about  
 this time, and discovering a Disposition to  
*17&18 R. 2* throw off the *English* Yoke, the King em-  
 bark'd for that Kingdom with a considerable  
 The King Army, and having made some Progress in  
 goes to reducing the Rebels, the Archbishop of *York*  
 Ireland. and the Bishop of *London* were deputed by  
 Recall'd the Clergy of *England* to attend him there,  
 from and desire his speedy Return, for that the  
 thence to suppress *Lollards*, the Disciples of *Wickliffe*, had gain'd  
 the *Lollards* so many Profelites among the Nobility, as  
 well



well as among the common People, that the Church was in very great Danger. Whereupon the King left the Earl of *March* to continue that War, and return'd to *England*, where having summon'd an Assembly of the Nobility, he reprov'd them for countenancing these Novelties, and oblig'd Sir *Richard Story*, who had embrac'd that Sect, to abjure their Principles, threatening him with Death if ever he relaps'd. In the mean time the Corps of the Duke of *Ireland*, who died at *Lovain*, being brought over to *England*, the King himself, with the Bishops and Clergy attended his Funeral, but not many of the Temporal Nobility could be persuaded to appear at this Solemnity.

A.D. 1395  
17 & 18 R. 2

The King attends the Duke of *Ireland's* Funeral.

The Duke of *Lancaster* was now in *Gascony*, where he kept a noble Court, and endeavour'd by his Bounty to reconcile that People to his Government, but they insisted that this Dutchy could not be alienated from the Crown of *England*, and would never acknowledge him for their Prince. Whereupon the King thought fit to recall him, and revoke that Grant. The Duke on his return obtain'd the King's Leave to marry the Lady *Katherine*, Widow of Sir *Thomas Swinford*, by whom he had four Sons, during the Life of his former Dutches, whom he surnam'd *Beaufort* from a Castle of the Duke's of that Name in *France*, and he afterwards procur'd them to be legitimated by Act of Parliament. The King having negotiated a Marriage, a little before the Duke's Arrival, with the *French* King's Daughter, the Princess *Isabella*, was attended by the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester* and a splendid Equipage to *Calais*, near which Town the Marriage

A.D. 1396  
18 & 19 R. 2

The *Gascons* refusing to acknowledge the Duke of *Lancaster* for their Duke, he is recalled.

The Duke marries his Concubine, and legitimates her Issue.

The King marries the *French* King's Daughter, an Infant.

was

A.D. 1397 was solemniz'd, the Princess being then about seven Years of Age. In this Voyage, 'tis computed, King *Richard* did not lay out less than three hundred thousand Marks, for which, as well as the Match it self, he was reproach'd by the Duke of *Gloucester*, as he was not long after, for delivering up *Cherburg* to *France*, and *Brest* to the Duke of *Bretagne*; tho' the King had no Pretence to keep them after the Money was paid, for the Security whereof they were put into the Hands of the *English*. But it was observ'd of the Duke of *Gloucester*, that he was perpetually finding Fault with the King's Administration, and would allow nothing to be well done that he did not advise; which reviv'd the remembrance of his former Insolence, when he did not only compel the King to change his Ministry, but sacrific'd the great Officers of State and the King's best Friends to his Capricious Humour, during his Highness's Minority. Some Historians also affirm positively, that he was now engag'd in such another Conspiracy, with the Lord *Arundel* and others, to reform the Court: Certain it is, that the King complain'd to the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Duke of *York*, of the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Presumption in slandering his Administration, and when they endeavour'd to excuse their Brother, the King began to entertain a Jealousy that they themselves were in a Conspiracy against him: Whereupon being apprehensive that they might be involv'd in the same Ruin with the Duke of *Gloucester*, they retir'd from Court and liv'd privately. Soon after which the Duke of *Gloucester* was apprehended and sent over to *Calais*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, who were suppos'd

19&20R.2

The Duke of *Gloucester* reproves the King for Misconduct. *Cherburg* and *Brest* deliver'd up.

He is apprehended and sent to *Calais*.

suppos'd to be in the Conspiracy with him, were committed to the Tower, as was the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *John Cheyney* some little time after; the King declaring that it was for a fresh Conspiracy against his Government.

*A.D.* 1397  
19 & 20 *R.* 2  
The Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* sent to the Tower.

While these Lords were in Custody, the King, by the Advice of the Peers, summon'd a Parliament to meet in the middle of *September*; and the Court making use of its Influence in the Elections of the Commons, such Members only were return'd as express'd their Readiness to concur with the Administration, (as some Historians suggest; and indeed the Harmony between the two Houses and the Court, seems very much to resemble what we have seen in some succeeding Reigns): The Parliament refus'd nothing that the Court intimated would be agreeable to the Ministry; they repeal'd all the Acts that had been made by that factious unmerciful Parliament in the 11th Year of the King; even the Act of Pardon the five Lords had procur'd to secure them from being call'd to an Account for their Rebellion, and the Murder of the Great Officers of State, together with the Commission empowering the eleven Lords to take the Administration of the Government out of the King's Hands, declaring that those Acts were traiterously obtain'd, by a Force put upon his Highness: After which Dr. *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was impeach'd and convicted of High-Treason, for acting by the said Commission; and afterwards banish'd. The Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* also were impeach'd and convicted of High-Treason, in putting a Force upon the King at the time of the Unmerciful Par-

*A.D.* 1397  
20 & 21 *R.* 2  
All the Acts of the Unmerciful Parliament repeal'd.

The Lord's impeach'd who put a Force upon the King in the unmerciful Parliament.

*A.D.* 1397 *liament nine or ten Years before. And the*  
 20 & 21 *R2* *Earl of Arundel, in pursuance of his Sentence,*  
 Earl of *was beheaded on Tower-bill. But the Earl of*  
*Arundel* *Warwick confessing his Offence, was only im-*  
*executed.* *prison'd in the Isle of Man. The Duke of*  
*Gloucester* *being about the same time found*  
*dead in his Bed at Calais, the Court gave out*  
*The Duke* *he died of an Apoplexy, while the Malecon-*  
*of Glou-* *tents affirm'd he was murder'd. But however*  
*cester dies* *that was, the Duke of Lancaster sat as High*  
*at Calais.* *Steward at these Trials, and pronounc'd the*  
*Sentence against the Earls of Arundel and*  
*Warwick, who were charg'd as Confederates*  
*with the Duke of Gloucester his Brother.*

Creations  
of the No-  
bility.

During this Parliament there were several  
 new Creations of the Nobility, *Henry Earl of*  
*Derby, Son to the Duke of Lancaster, was*  
*made Duke of Hereford; the Earl of Rutland,*  
*eldest Son of the Duke of York, Duke of Al-*  
*bemarle; the Earl of Kent Duke of Surrey, the*  
*Earl of Huntington Duke of Exeter, the Earl*  
*of Nottingham Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of*  
*Somerset Marquis of Dorset, the Lord Spencer*  
*Earl of Gloucester, the Lord Neville Earl of*  
*Westmoreland, William Scrope Earl of Wiltshire,*  
*and Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester; and the*  
*King distributed great part of the Lands of*  
*the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arun-*  
*del and Warwick, which were confiscated, a-*  
*mongst them. But these Honours and Grants,*  
*'tis observ'd, made him scarce any Friends.*

*A.D.* 1398

21 & 22 *R2*

The Par-  
liament de-  
legate their  
Authority  
to a Com-  
mittee.

The Parliament being prorogued, assem-  
 bled afterwards at *Shrewsbury*, where they de-  
 clar'd the Opinions of the Judges given at  
*Northampton* to be good Law. The Judges  
 also gave their Opinion, That it was High  
 Treason to postpone the Business recommend-  
 ed to the Parliament by the King till their  
 Grie-



Grievances were satisfy'd. And at last the Parliament delegated their Authority to 12 Peers and 6 Commoners, whose Ordinances, with the King's Assent, were declar'd to be of equal Force with an Act of Parliament. Then the King granted a General Pardon, excepting fifty that he should Name, and procur'd all the Proceedings of this Parliament to be ratify'd by the Pope's Bull.

A.D. 1398

21 & 22 R2



In Honour to the *Cheshire* Men, of whom the King's Guards were chiefly compos'd at this time, he erected that Earldom into a Principality, stiling himself, among his other Titles, Prince of *Cheshire*.

*Cheshire* a Principality.

The King having now the Parliament entirely at his Devotion, found himself in a Condition to act more arbitrarily than any Prince in Christendom. The Houses, which should have been Checks upon the Administration, became Instruments of enslaving the Nation; in which probably the leading Men found their Account; Honours, Places or Pensions were the Rewards of their Treachery, as we have seen it in succeeding Reigns; and as the King had the Concurrence of the Houses, and was made to believe that none of his Subjects durst dispute his Commands whilst this happy Union lasted, he ventur'd upon some Measures which gave a general Disgust.

The Parliament contribute to make the King Arbitrary.

In the mean time the Duke of *Hereford* charging the Duke of *Norfolk* with some seditious Discourses, the Duke of *Norfolk* denied the Conversation, and challeng'd his Accuser. Whereupon a Day was appointed to determine the Dispute by single Combat before the King and the whole Court, when both Parties enter'd the Lists and were ready to engage; but the

Duke of *Norfolk* challenges the Duke of *Hereford*.

A.D. 1399 King pretending to abhor this brutish way of deciding Controversies, banish'd both the Dukes, *Hereford* for ten Years, and *Norfolk* for ever.

22&23 R2

The Duke of *Lancaster* dies.

The King seizes his Estate.

The following Year, about *Candlemas*, died the Duke of *Lancaster*, possess'd of a vast Estate, which the King seiz'd, and procur'd the Committee of Parliament above-mentioned to banish the Duke of *Hereford*, Son and Heir of the Duke of *Lancaster*, for ever; and by these and such like arbitrary and unjust Proceedings, the King having replenish'd his Treasury, kept a very splendid Court, spending his time in Ease and Luxury, without regarding the Murmurs of his People at the Incurfions of the *Scots*, who ravag'd the Northern Counties at this time; while the *French* insulted the Southern Coasts, made Prize of the *English* Shipping, and ruin'd our Foreign Commerce. But what gave the Nation the most terrible Apprehensions was, the Parliament's declaring 17 Counties guilty of High Treason, for adhering to the Duke of *Gloucester* ten Years before, whereby they were oblig'd to purchase their Peace of the King, either by a Sum of ready Money, or entering into such Securities as were demanded of them, which render'd the Administration generally detested.

Seventeen Counties charg'd with Treason, and oblig'd to buy their Peace.

The King goes over to *Ireland*.

While the Nation was in this ferment, the King receiv'd Advice that the *Irish* were again revolted, they had defeated and kill'd the Earl of *March* in an Engagement, and began to threaten the entire Expulsion of the *English*. Whereupon the King rais'd a great Army, for the maintaining of which he extorted large Sums from his Subjects by way of Loan, press'd Men and Carriages, and seiz'd on their Provisions without paying for them; and having proclaim'd the

Great Sums extorted to pay the Army.

the Earl of *Northumberland* a Traytor for not attending him in this Expedition, he embark'd for *Ireland*, taking with him the Sons of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and of some other Noblemen, as Pledges of their Loyalty ; and left his Uncle, the Duke of *York*, Regent of *England* in his Absence. When he arriv'd in *Ireland*, 'tis said, the King behav'd himself with a great deal of Bravery, and having repuls'd the Rebel *Irish*, was in a fair way of reducing that Kingdom to a settled Condition.

A.D. 1399

22&23 R2



In the mean time the Duke of *Hereford*, now *Lancaster*, having been unjustly depriv'd of his Inheritance, as has been related, recieving Intelligence from his Friends in *England* of the King's Absence, and the univertal Discontents of the People, apply'd himself to the Duke of *Bretagne*, his Kinsman, of whom he obtain'd three Ships, and about fourscore or an hundred Men, and with this inconsiderable Force set Sail for *England*, accompany'd by the young Lord *Arundel*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and other Exiles, and landing the Beginning of *July*, at *Ravenspur* in *Yorkshire*, pretended at first he was come over to endeavour the Recovery of his Father the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Estate, but finding himself immediately join'd by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, and the Nobility and Gentry, with Multitudes of the common People flocking to him from all Parts, he ventur'd to lay Claim to the Crown it self, which he pretended was lineally descended to him from *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouch-back*, who was, as he affirm'd, the eldest Son of *Henry 3*, but set aside for his Deformity, to make Way for his Brother *Edward*.

The Duke of *Hereford* lands in *England*.

He is join'd by the Nobility and People.

The



A.D. 1399

22 &amp; 23 R2

The Mi-

nisty ge-

nerally de-

serted.

The Duke

of Lanca-

ster marches

to London.

Takes Bri-

stol and be-

heads the

Ministers.

K. Richard

returns

from Ire-

land.

The Duke of *York*, whom King *Richard* had left Regent, having consulted with the Lord Chancellor *Scrope*, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, the Treasurer, and the rest of the Ministry, in this Exigence, issu'd out Commissions of Array, and assembled what Forces he cou'd ; but the City of *London* being notoriously disaffected, they appointed the Rendezvous to be at *St. Alban's* : Where observing that the People were generally in the Interest of the Duke of *Lancaster*, they consider'd nothing but their own Safety. The Earl of *Wiltshire*, with some other Courtiers, fled to *Bristol*, and the Duke of *York* retir'd to his Estate, whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* march'd to *London*, and was reciev'd with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, from whence, after a short Stay, he bent his March towards *Bristol*, and having taken the Castle, after a Siege of four Days, and in it the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Sir *John Busby*, and Sir *Henry Green*, all of the King's Council, he order'd their Heads to be struck off, without any Forms of Law.

King *Richard* hearing of the Success of the Duke of *Lancaster*, had sent over the Earl of *Salisbury* to raise Forces in *Wales*, and the Earl assembled an Army of thirty or forty thousand Men ; but the King not coming over in Person as soon as was expected, this Body dispers'd. At length the King landed at *Milford Haven* with some thousands of *Cheshire* Men, from whence he march'd to *Caermarthen*, and understanding that the whole Kingdom almost had revolted to the Duke of *Lancaster*, he left his Army in the Night-time and went privately to the Castle of *Conway*. Here the Lord *Thomas Percy*, Steward of his Household, seeing all desperate, broke his white

Staff.



Staff before the King's Servants, and went over to the Enemy ; whereupon most of them dispers'd, leaving the King a very slender Attendance. The King having now no body about him he could confide in, sent to the Duke of *Lancaster* to desire a Conference ; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Northumberland* being sent to hear what he had to offer, he desir'd only that he might live a private Life, with eight Persons more he should name, and have a handsome Revenue assign'd him, and upon these Conditions he was ready to resign his Crown. The Earl of *Northumberland* having promis'd with an Oath that this shou'd be comply'd with, the King left *Conway* Castle, and put himself into the Hands of the Duke of *Lancaster*, with whom he march'd to *Ghester*, and afterwards to *London*. It was but little more than six Weeks between the Duke's Landing and the King's surrendring himself into his Hands.

A.D. 1399

22 & 23 R2

He surrenders himself to the Duke of *Lancaster*.

It is hardly to be conciev'd what a Prejudice the City of *London* had entertain'd for this unfortunate Prince : it is said they were so far from behaving themselves decently towards him, that the Recorder at the head of the principal Citizens meeting the Duke as he enter'd the City, desir'd he wou'd strike off King *Richard's* Head, and the Heads of all those that were taken with him ; to which the Duke answer'd, that wou'd be an everlasting Reproach to him and his Adherents ; but he wou'd secure their Persons in the Tower, and leave them to the Judgment of the Parliament : For the King had no sooner fallen into the Duke's Hands, but he oblig'd him to summon a Parliament to meet on the last of *September* at *Westminster*.

The City of *London* propose the cutting off his Head.

A Parliament call'd

In

A.D 1399

22&amp;23 R.2



In the mean time the Duke of *Lancaster's* Party consider'd of the most effectual Means to fix him on the Throne : To which purpose,  
 1. They drew up a Form of Resignation for King *Richard* to sign. 2. They fram'd three and thirty Articles, containing *Richard's* Male-Administration, for which the Parliament were to adjudge him depos'd : And lastly the Throne being declar'd vacant, the Duke of *Lancaster* was to claim it as the right Heir of *Henry III.*

K. *Richard*  
 resigns.

Accordingly the Parliament being assembled, a Committee was order'd to attend the King with the Instrument of Resignation they had drawn up for him, wherein he is made to declare that he voluntarily resign'd his Crown, that he acknowledg'd himself unfit to govern the Kingdom; and deserv'd to be depos'd, and to desire that the Duke of *Lancaster* might succeed him. This Resignation the King read himself, and afterwards sign'd. Then pulling off his Signet, he put it on the Duke's Finger, by which Ceremony it was to be understood he invested him in the Kingdom: Then the Articles upon which the Parliament were to proceed to his Deposition were read, wherein he is charged with Tyranny, Oppression, Cruelty, Perjury, and almost all Manner of Crimes and Vices that a Prince cou'd be guilty of, and with some things that were not criminal ; but what is very remarkable, they never charg'd him with his treating with the *French* King for the Sale of *Calais*, which was once the Occasion of much Clamour, and makes it suspected that this and a great many other Stories were only fram'd to spirit up the Mob against him. However upon this Charge the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, the Earl of *Gloucester*, Justice *Thyrning*, and others, were appointed Commissioners

He is de-  
 pos'd.

Commissioners to attend the King, and pronounce the Sentence of Deposition in the Name of the States and People of *England*.

A.D. 1399  
22 & 23 R2

After which the Duke laid Claim to the vacant Crown, as lineally descended from *Henry III*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* led him up to the Throne, and plac'd him in it. This was perform'd on the thirtieth Day of *September*, when King *Richard's* Reign is generally held to be at an End, and the Reign of *Henry IV* to commence: And the Day following other Agents were order'd to attend the King, and in his Presence to renounce all Homage and Fealty the Nation ow'd him.

The Duke of Lancaster claims the Crown.

King *Richard II* was a tall personable Man; Nay the handsomest Man that ever sat upon the Throne of *England*, if we may credit the Generality of our Historians. They are ready also to allow him natural Parts, and some other valuable Qualifications. His greatest Misfortune seems to have been his falling into ill Hands in his Minority. He had three ambitious Uncles, who made it their Business to ruin him in his Education, and prejudice the Nation against him; and in these Circumstances it is rather to be admir'd that he maintain'd his Dignity so many Years than that he fell at last a Sacrifice to their Ambition. We shall be able to form a Character of him by taking a short View of the principal Transactions of his Reign. We find that the King's Uncles, in whose Hands the Administration was in reality lodg'd, after his Accession suffer'd both the *French* and *Scots* to ravage the Country with very little Opposition, which was certainly intended to make the Nation weary of a Minority, and induce them to fly to the Duke of *Lancaster* for Protection, who

King *Richard's* Person and Character.

The principal Events in this Reign.



was represented as the Heroe of the Age; but they found the People had yet too great a Regard to the Son of the *Black Prince* to fall into their Measures. This not succeeding, they put the King into the Hands of the Earl of *Warwick*, who was devoted to their Interest, and directed him to give his Highness such an Education as might render him unfit for Government, and most unacceptable to the Nation, to let him understand as little of his own or his People's Interests as possible, and to create in him a Gust for Vice and Extravagance. They engag'd him in Foreign Wars with *Spain* and *Portugal*, wherein great Sums were expended and Taxes impos'd, which render'd the Administration odious to the lower Class of People; and this occasion'd an Insurrection that had very near prov'd fatal to him, tho' in the End it contributed extremely to the King's Honour: We see him at fourteen Years of Age treating in Person with the several Captains of the Rebels at the Head of their numerous Forces: He had the Address to prevail on one of their greatest Bodies to disperse by fair Words; and when *Wat Tyler*, who commanded another, behav'd himself insolently, he had the Courage to order him to be arrested and kill'd at the Head of his Men, and when his Troops were about to revenge their Captain's Death, with inimitable Courage and Presence of Mind the King rode up to them, told them he wou'd be their Leader, and commanded them to follow him and not regard the Death of a Traytor; which had such an Effect on the arm'd Multitude, that they seem'd to forget all their Rage, and following the King into the Field, laid down their Arms. Nor was his merciful Dis-

position



position and Generosity less remarkable than his Courage on this Occasion, for when some of his Courtiers would have cut them to Pieces, he would not consent to it, but suffer'd the poor deluded People to return to their Dwellings. In the mean time I don't find that the King's Uncles, who had been the Occasion of this Infurrection, did any think towards suppressing it. The Duke of *Lancaster* conceal'd himself in *Scotland*, and the other two are not mention'd; it is highly probable therefore, that they would gladly have seen their Sovereign perish in the Tumult, which would have brought them a Step nearer the Throne.

We find the King afterwards marching against the *Scots* in Person, whom he drove up into their Mountains, and burnt the City of *Edinburgh*. He exerted himself also on several other Occasions before he was seventeen Years of Age, till at length five of the most popular Lords, among whom were the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Earl of *Derby*, Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, took upon them to reform the State, and call the young King to an Account for his Administration; they charg'd him with turning out a Chancellor that had been approv'd by Parliament; with Living profusely, indulging his Favovrites, and neglecting the Affairs of the Nation, and upon these and such like Pretences, they compell'd him to delegate his Authority to a certain Number of Lords, who were impower'd to place and displace his Officers of State, Judges, and Ministers at their Pleasure, and to regulate his Revenues as they saw fit; and because the King was uneasy under these Encroachments

on his Prerogative, they broke out into open Rebellion, marching up to *Highbate* at the Head of 40000 Men, defeated the King's Troops commanded by the Duke of *Ireland*, compell'd his Highness to summon a Parliament, and having by their Influence, return'd a House of Commons after their own Hearts, under Colour of this Parliamentary Authority, they put to death or banish'd all the King's Ministers and Judges, and took the Administration of the Government into their Hands. Notwithstanding which, the King coming of Age, had the Spirit to turn out all the Ministers that had been impos'd on him, and calling a Parliament, procur'd the Acts made in the former *Unmerciful Parliament*, as it was stil'd from its Cruelty, to be repeal'd; the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, who had been concern'd in the Rebellion against the King, and in procuring the Death of his Ministers, were impeach'd and convicted of High-Treason, and the Earl of *Arundel* was actually executed; as to the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was sent Prisoner to *Calais*, the Court gave out, he died a natural Death; certain it is, the People were made to believe the contrary, which heightned their Prejudices against the Government. But what gave the Nation the most terrible Apprehensions, was the declaring no less than seventeen Counties guilty of High-Treason, for adhereing to the Duke of *Gloucester* and the other four Lords that put a Force upon the King, notwithstanding the Fact was committed eight or nine Years before, and the King had pass'd an Act of Pardon for those Offences in the *Unmerciful Parliament*

*Parliament.* The King indeed granted another Pardon at this time, but his excepting fifty Persons out of it, whom he should name, render'd the Nobility so very insecure, that they look'd upon themselves in greater Danger than ever. The banishing the Duke of *Hereford*, and seizing his Estate on the Death of his Father the Duke of *Lancaster*, on an Apprehension he was in a Conspiracy against the Government prov'd extremely prejudicial also to the King's Affairs, for the Nobility now looking on their Fortunes as precarious, invited over the exil'd Duke of *Lancaster*, as soon as the King was embark'd for *Ireland*, and advanc'd him to the Throne in the Manner above related.

I shall not take upon me to defend King *Richard's* Administration in the latter part of his Reign, he was certainly very imprudent if not unjust, in calling his Subjects to account for a Rebellion committed nine or ten Years before, and involving no less than seventeen whole Counties in the Guilt of it, tho' he had receiv'd the highest Provocations from his factious Subjects, having been compell'd to suffer his best Friends to be put to Death, and to resign the Government into the Hands of his Enemies. Possibly he was not in a Condition to express his Resentment till now ; but it had been happy for him, if he had perfectly forgot the ill Usage he had received, and never gratify'd his Revenge, if it was Revenge, at last ; for some Historians relate, that it was a fresh Conspiracy from the same Quarter, which occasion'd his seizing the Earl of *Derby's* Estate, and imprisoning the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Arundel*, &c.

But

The Parliament concur with the King, as they did with the Faction against him.

But it is observ'd, that as the five factious Lords endeavour'd to justify their Proceedings against the King and his Ministry, by having the Concurrence of one Parliament, where they influenc'd the Elections; so the King's Prosecution of the five Lords and their Adherents was approv'd by another Parliament, in the Interest of the Court; and consequently his Administration could not properly be call'd Arbitrary, as his Friends pretended: But as these Assemblies have at some times notoriously encourag'd Faction and Rebellion, so have they at others been Tools in the Hands of wicked Ministers, and given a Sanction to the most extravagant and unjust Proceedings. King *Richard* is not the only Prince, who by gaining a Majority in the two Houses, has become absolute Master of the Persons and Purfes of the rest of his Subjects; and yet we find this could not secure him against a great and sudden Revolution. It was not the Peoples being tax'd and prosecuted by Parliamentary Authority that render'd their Oppressions less grievous; they took the first favourable Opportunity of the King's Absence to throw off the burthensome Yoke, tho' laid on their Necks in a pretended legal Way, and plac'd another Prince upon his Throne, the Justness of which Proceeding comes next to be consider'd.

The Legality of deposing King *Richard* consider'd.

The King, we find, being made Prisoner, was compell'd to summon a Parliament, and the Elections being influenc'd by his Rival, it is no wonder his Enemies were return'd. The Parliament thus constituted, compell'd the King to resign his Crown to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and not content with this, they exhibited Articles against their Sovereign, and



and depos'd him. Then the Duke rose up and claim'd the vacant Throne, as next Heir to Henry III. This is the Sum of the Proceeding.

As to the forc'd Resignation; few People lay much stress upon it ; but the Right of the two Houses to dethrone their Prince for Male-Administration, is a Doctrine our Republicans are very fond of ; they hold that the two Houses are Supreme, and the *King* no more in reality, than their *Chief Officer*, and liable to be call'd to an Account, and remov'd whenever they see fit. If this were really our Constitution, the Crown of *England* would be no very desirable Present ; but we have seen the two Houses themselves, voluntarily declare, *That neither one or both Houses, neither the People Collectively or Representatively, have any coercive Power over the Person of the King*. And consequently, cannot depose him, or force him from his Throne. Some People indeed look upon the deposing Doctrine as the greatest Security to the Subject's Rights and Properties ; they imagine that Princes being upon their good Behaviour, will be tender of the People's Privileges. But this Doctrine possibly may have a quite contrary Effect, for a King who apprehends his Throne as precarious as these Men would have it, will certainly take the most likely means to secure his Possession ; he will probably purchase a Majority in the two Houses, by Places and Pensions, and make it their Interest to lay fresh Burthens upon his People, in order to pay their own Stipends : It will also become their mutual Interest to maintain a Body of Mercenaries, to prevent any Alterations in the State, consequently

frequently the Nation will be burthen'd with perpetual Taxes to maintain, not only Armies of Soldiers, but Armies of Pensioners in time of Peace. No wise Prince will ever trust to the Equity of his Administration for the Security of his Throne, or put any great Confidence in the Affections of Subjects who imagine they have a Right to call him to an Account whenever his Conduct is not agreeable to their Taste; and thus by endeavouring to render our selves Judges of our Sovereign's Actions, we shall put him upon Measures that will render him as absolute as an *Asiatick* Monarch, and the Subject more miserable than theirs, as no Redress is ever to be expected in such Circumstances. But to proceed.

The Duke claims the crown as next Heir and not by the Election of the People.

Notwithstanding King *Richard's* Resignation of the Crown to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and his Deposition by the Parliament, it is observable, that the Duke does not make out his Title, either from this forc'd Resignation, or from the Election of the People, as *Rapin* falsely asserts; but insists only on an Hereditary Right as next Heir to King *Henry III.* He declares that *Edmund Crouch-back*, from whom he descended, was the eldest Son of *Henry* the third; and that King *Edward I.* from whom *Richard* deriv'd his Title, was younger Brother to his Ancestor *Edmund.* Now tho' the World is pretty well satisfy'd that this was a Mistake or a Fiction of the Duke of *Lancaster's*, yet it is evident that he thought nothing but Proximity of Blood could give him a legal Title, or he would never have insisted upon this and dropp'd all other Claims. And in fact, never any King before that Reign, came to the Crown, but he claim'd it either by the Donation

Donation of his Predecessor (in or out of Parliament) or by Hereditary Right.

As to the Title of King *Richard II.* never King *Richard's* Title. any Objection was made to it unless that already mentioned of the *Lancastrians*, who pretended that *Edmond Crouch-back* was the eldest Son of *Henry III.* from whom the Duke of *Lancaster* descended.

King *Richard* was married, Anno 1382; to His Marriage. the Princess *Anne*, Daughter to the Emperor *Charles IV.* and Sister to *Wenceslaus*, Emperor and King of *Bohemia*, who dy'd without Issue. He was married a second time to the Princess *Isabel*, eldest Daughter of *Charles VI.* King of *France*, then between seven and eight Years of Age, whom he brought into *England*; but this Marriage being never consummated, he died without Issue.

## C H A P. XXIII.

Contains the Reign of HENRY IV.

A.D. 1399

A. 1 H. 4.

His Ac-  
cession.

**H**ENRY Duke of *Lancaster*, surnamed *Bolingbroke* from the Place of his Birth, ascended the Throne of *England* on the 30th of *September*, 1399, not by Virtue of the forc'd Resignation of *Richard II.* or the Election of the two Houses, but under Pretence of a Prior Title to the dethron'd King, viz. as right Heir of King *Henry III.* and when this came in a little time to be exploded, he claim'd a Right to the Crown by Conquest, if we may rely upon his own Declarations in this Matter.

His Claim  
to the  
Crown.A Parlia-  
ment con-  
ven'd  
without is-  
suing out  
Writs, and  
without  
any E-  
lection.The Co-  
ronation.

And as his Advancement to the Throne was in an extraordinary manner, his assembling the first Parliament of his Reign was no less particular ; for he order'd the Members of the last Parliament to assemble on the 6th of *October*, within less than a Week after his Accession, without issuing any Writs, or suffering the Commons to proceed to a new Election ; so that all the Members of the Lower House were really appointed by the King. This Parliament or Convention meeting on the Day prefix'd, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made a long harangue, exposing the Weakness of the last Reign, and representing the glorious Prospect they had of happy Times under the Government of a Prince of such consummate Wisdom and Goodness as the King now upon the Throne. After which the Houses were prorogu'd and adjourn'd to the 14th of *October*, in order to make Pre-  
parations





HENRY. IV.



parations for the Coronation, which was appointed the 13th. A.D. 1399

The Ceremony of the Coronation being over, an Act pass'd for indemnifying the Adherents of King *Henry*, who had taken up Arms, and committed many Acts of Violence with an Intention to serve him, but without legal Authority. The Attainders of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and of the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, &c. were revers'd. The Acts of the 21st of *Richard II.* were repeal'd. And the Acts of the 11th of *Richard II.* for restraining the regal Power and transferring it to certain Lords Commissioners were reviv'd. And Treasons were reduc'd to the Standard of the 25th of *Edward III.* A. 1 H. 4.  
Acts pass'd  
in the first  
Parliament.

Then they proceeded to censure the Lords who had appear'd best affected to King *Richard*, and had been concern'd in the Prosecution of the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Arundel*, &c. And as King *Richard* had created *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exeter*; *Thomas Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, Duke of *Surry*; *Edward*, Earl of *Albemarle*, Duke of *Albemarle*; *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerfet*, Duke of *Somerfet*; and the Lord *Thomas Spencer* Earl of *Gloucester*, and had distributed the Estates of the Duke of *Gloucester* and the other impeach'd Lords amongst them. They depriv'd them both of the Honours and Estates conferr'd on them on that Occasion. And the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Morley*, two others of King *Richard's* Council, who were suppos'd to have some concern in the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death, were imprison'd for some time. The Lords  
who ad-  
her'd to K.  
*Richard*  
punish'd.



A.D. 1399

A. 1 H. 4.

The Succession of the Crown limited to the House of Lancaster.

Popular Acts.

Debates concerning K. Richard

The Substance of Bishop Merks Speech in his behalf.

At this Parliament also Prince *Henry*, then about 13 Years of Age, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal* and Earl of *Chester*, and the Succession of the Crown settled on that Prince and his Issue, remainder to his three younger Brothers and their Issue successively, according to their Seniority.

And as it is necessary to do many popular things in the beginning of an Usurpation, the King promis'd both Clergy and Laity inviolably to maintain their Rights and Liberties; and was so far from demanding Taxes in the first Parliament, that he cancell'd all the Securities for Money given to King *Richard* by the City of *London* and the seventeen Counties that had adher'd to the Duke of *Gloucester*. It being propos'd also in the House of Lords what should be done with King *Richard*, a long Debate arose. The Commons, 'tis said, had petition'd to try him as a common Malefactor, but their Lordships, as well as King *Henry*, were averse to such a Proceeding; they knew they could prove very little of the Charge exhibited against King *Richard*, nor were they sunk so low in their Notions of the Constitution as to apprehend they had a Right to erect a High Court of Justice for the Tryal of their Sovereign.

Doctor *Merks*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, in this Debate represented, that they had gone too great Lengths already. That they had indeed no Authority to depose King *Richard*, or advance the Duke of *Lancaster* to the Throne. This was not an Elective Kingdom, or the Supreme Power lodg'd in the People. The King's Supremacy was universally acknowledged, which was ridiculous if there was a Power to which he was subject and accountable.



ble. No Force therefore could be put upon their King without incurring the Guilt of Treason and Rebellion.

A.D. 1399

A. 1 H. 4.

He insisted also that the Charge against King *Richard* could never be prov'd. The King might have committed some Errors in Government, but none that could be constru'd Tyranny. There were few Princes that had not carried the Prerogative higher, and scarce any had receiv'd greater Provocations from their Subjects, all his known Rights having been invaded by the disaffected Barons. If the People were at Liberty to depose their Prince on every Pretence of Male Administration, all the Sovereigns in the World would soon be treated as Tyrants; their Subjects would not want specious Reasons to dethrone them.

And if it was admitted that the King might be depos'd, what Pretence had the Duke of *Lancaster* to their Allegiance. There was another (*Mortimer*) whose Father had been declar'd Heir to the Crown by Act of Parliament. As for the Title the Duke of *Lancaster* set up as Heir to *Henry III.* it was evident, that *Edmund Crouch-back*, his Ancestor, was a younger Son of that Prince, and consequently *Henry* could derive no Title from him. And as to the Right of Conquest which the Duke insisted on in his Proclamation to strengthen the former weak Pretence, how could a Subject be said to conquer his Prince, the very thought of using Violence against him being deem'd High Treason by the Laws of *England*. That the deposing *Edward II.* was no Precedent for them to go by, any more than his Murder. No wicked or illegal Acts were ever intended for our Imitation,

and

*A.D.* 1399 and even in that Case the Succession was not alter'd. The Crown descended to the next Heir. And as to the powerful Argument of *Conveniency*, which had such an Influence on them, they might possibly soon find themselves in the Condition of *Æsop's* Frogs, who despising the tameness of one Prince were devour'd by another. But whatever Force there might be in the Bishop's Arguments, *Henry* was secure of a Majority, who, instead of being mov'd by this Speech, order'd him to be taken into Custody, and afterwards came to a Resolution, That King *Richard* should remain closely confin'd; and that if any Attempt should be made to restore him, he should be put to Death, even without Tryal or waiting for Proofs against him, which was surely as great an Act of Tyranny in his pretended Supreme Subjects as he could have been guilty of in the Course of his Reign.

Ambassadors sent to notify K. *Henry's* Accession.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, King *Henry* sent Ambassadors to several Foreign Courts to notify his Succession, and set the best Face upon his Conduct; but the *French* were by no means satisfied with his Apologies: They did not only detest the Usurpation; but were concern'd in Point of Interest to restore King *Richard* to his Throne, as he had married a Daughter of *France*. The People of *Gascony* also threatned to revolt and join with *France* in the Attempt, and were with Difficulty brought to acquiesce in the Revolution in *England*. The *Scots* also enter'd the *English* Borders and took *Werk* Castle, but finding the *French* not ready to second them, they were perswaded to retire and forbear Hostilities by King *Henry's* Agents. In the mean time King *Richard* was remov'd from the

Tower.

Tower to *Leeds Castle* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pontefract Castle* in *Yorkshire*; but notwithstanding all the Caution *Henry* could use, a Conspiracy was form'd against him within three Months after his Accession, by several disaffected Lords, some of whom were very nearly related to him, particularly *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter* his Half-Brother, and *Edward* Duke of *Albemarle*, his first Cousin, with whom join'd the Earls of *Gloucester* and *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and *John Magdalen*, a Chaplain of King *Richard's*, who extremely resembled him. The five first had been depriv'd of their Honours and Estates by King *Henry*, which was enough to make them Malecontents, if they had not been so upon Principle. The Duke of *Exeter*, at a Meeting of the Conspirators, declar'd, *That Henry was both a Tyrant and Usurper, and that it was lawful to destroy him; that the Examples of the best Commonwealths did not only permit but had rewarded such Actions with Statues and the Wealth of the suppress'd Tyrant*; to which they all assented, and in order to get *Henry* into their Power, it was agreed that the Duke of *Exeter* should challenge the Earl of *Salisbury* to engage him in a Tournament at *Oxford* in *Christmas* Holydays, and that King *Henry* shou'd be invited to sit Judge of the Combat, when they presum'd he would easily be made Prisoner by their numerous Followers and Adherents. They executed an Indenture also, in which it was specified what Numbers of Men shou'd be rais'd, and what Share the respective Conspirators shou'd have in the Attempt, after which they took an Oath of Secresy and separated; and the Duke of *Exeter* having invited

A.D. 1399

A. 1 H. 4.

K. Richard

imprison'd

in Pontefract

Castle

A Conspiracy

against

King Henry



*A.D.* 1399 vited King *Henry* to be present at the intended Tournament, he had given his Consent to it.  
*A. 1 H. 4.* Accordingly the Conspirators, with large Retinues, resorted to *Oxford* at the Time appointed; the Duke of *Albemarle* only was wanting, who went to *Langley* to pay a Visit to his Father the Duke of *York* in his Way thither. While he was at Dinner at *Langley*, the Duke of *York* abserving the Label of an Indenture in his Son's Bosom, demanded what it was; to which *Albemarle* gave some slight Answer; but discovering at the same time a more than ordinary Concern, the Old Duke snatch'd it from him, and finding it was one of the Parts of the Deed the Conspirators had enter'd into, he immediately took Horse and rode towards *Windfor* with it; but his Son mounting immediately after, found means to get to *Windfor* before his Father, and had made a Discovery of the Plot, and got the King's Pardon before the Duke of *York* arriv'd; which it is highly probable the Father did not endeavour to prevent, if he did not advise it.

It is discover'd.

King *Henry* being appriz'd of his Danger, immediately issu'd out Commissions of Array, and summon'd all his Friends to attend him: The Lords at *Oxford* in the mean time understanding that the Plot was discover'd, dress'd up the Chaplain *Magdalen* in a Habit resembling King *Richard's* usual Dress, and pretended he had made his Escape from *Pontefract*, which soon increas'd their Numbers to 40,000 Men, with whom they march'd, directly to *Windfor* in Hopes of surprizing King *Henry* there; but he was retir'd to *London* a few Hours before they arriv'd; and here the Conspirators being divided in their Opinions, whether



whether they shou'd march into *Yorkshire*, and set King *Richard* at Liberty, or follow King *Henry* to *London*; they wasted a great deal of Time in these Disputes, and many of their Friends deserted them. In the mean while King *Henry* having rais'd considerable Forces, they thought fit to retire first to *Reading* and afterwards to *Cirencester*, giving out that King *Richard* was at the Head of an hundred thousand Men in *Yorkshire*, and no longer made use of the Counterfeit *Magdalen*.


A.D. 1399

A. 1 H. 4.



This Retreat prov'd fatal to the Conspirators; their Party daily diminish'd while that of *Henry's* increas'd, and those that remain'd about them were in the utmost Consternation; which the Mayor of *Cirencester* observing, assembled 3 or 400 stout Fellows and attack'd the two Inns where the Lords were quarter'd in the Night-time, and took the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* Prisoners, and struck off their Heads without waiting for Orders from his Superiors. The Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Gloucester* indeed made their Escape out of the Town; but coming into their Camps they found that all their Troops were dispers'd and fled, upon a Report that King *Henry* was arriv'd at *Cirencester*. The Earl of *Gloucester* was afterwards taken in *Wales*, and the Duke of *Exeter* in *Essex*, and both their Heads struck off without any Form of Law. The Chaplain *Magdalen* was taken in *Scotland* and sent up to *London*, where he was executed as a Traitor; and there were between twenty and thirty Noblemen and Gentlemen besides convicted and executed at *Oxford* as Traitors. As to the Bishop of *Carlisle*, it appears by the Acts of State in *Rymer* that he was pardon'd, but so fatigu'd

The Conspirators defeated and executed.

*AD* 1399 fatigu'd in the Marches and Countermarches  
 with the disaffected Lords, that he was taken  
*A. 1 H. 4.* ill of a Fever and dy'd soon after the Insur-  
  
*K. Richard* rection was suppress'd; and King *Henry* find-  
 murder'd. ing the Nation so well affected towards King  
*Richard*, suffer'd that Prince to live but a very  
 little longer. He is generally suppos'd to have  
 been famish'd with Hunger and Cold, no  
 Marks of Violence appearing on the Corps,  
 which was expos'd for several Days in *St. Paul's*  
 Church, that the People being assur'd of his  
 Death, might raise no more Tumults for his  
 Deliverance. Some indeed relate that King  
*Henry* letting fall some Words expressing how  
 acceptable a Piece of Service it would be to  
 him to destroy King *Richard*, Sir *Pierce Ex-*  
*ton* carried down with him eight other Assassins  
 to *Pontefract Castle*, and falling upon the King  
 while he was at Dinner, they dispatch'd him  
 with their Weapons. It is added, that his  
 Highness shew'd extraordinary Courage and  
 Resolution in his Defence, snatching an Hal-  
 bert out of the Hands of one of the Murder-  
 ers, and killing four of their Number before  
 he was mortally wounded; but however that  
 was, there is very little room to doubt he  
 came to an untimely end; first, because it  
 happen'd immediately after the Insurrection,  
 and in Pursuance of the Resolution of the  
 Houses to destroy him if any Attempt was  
 made for his Restauration; but principally  
 because the Occasion of his Death was never  
 enquir'd into by the Government, tho' the  
 Ministry were every where charg'd with the  
 Parricide both at home and abroad. His Corps  
 was first interr'd privately at *Langley* in *Hert-*  
*sfordshire*, but afterwards remov'd to *Westminster-*  
*Abby*.

The Death of King *Richard*, which was generally ascrib'd to *Henry* the reigning Prince who had usurp'd his Throne, produc'd some threatening Messages from the Court of *France*, but I don't percieve they committed any Hostilities at this Time. The *Scots* however looking on a Breach between *France* and *England* as inevitable, ventur'd to insult the *English* Borders as usual: King *Henry* had refus'd to deliver up the Earl of *Dunbar* a *Scottish* Nobleman, who was become a Malecontents, and fled into *England* for Protection, which they made the Pretence for this Breach of the Truce. *David* King of *Scotland* it seems had made his Addresses to the Earl of *Dunbar's* Daughter, contracted to marry her, and receiv'd Part of her Portion, but afterwards married the Daughter of Earl *Douglas*, and refus'd to return the Money he had receiv'd from *Dunbar*, which was the Occasion of that Nobleman's Discontent.

A.D. 1400

A. 1 &amp; 2 H4

The Scots  
break the  
Truce.

The *Scots* having thus broken the Truce, King *Henry* levy'd a great Army and march'd into the North, summoning King *David* to appear before him and do Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which that Prince taking no Notice of, the *English* Army advanc'd as far as *Edinburgh*, and laid Siege to the Castle. The *Scottish* Generals on the other Hand fell upon the Northern Counties of *England*, and oblig'd King *Henry* to return homewards; and tho' the *Scots* were encounter'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* and defeated, yet King *Henry* thought fit to grant them a Truce on Advice of an Insurrection in *Wales* fomented by *Owen Glendour*, a private Gentleman of *Merionethshire*. This *Glendour* had been educated in *London*, and first studied the Law in the Inns

The King  
consents to  
another  
Truce.  
An Insur-  
rection in  
*Wales* by  
*Owen Glendour*.



A.D. 1400 Inns of Court, but afterwards became a Domestick of the late King *Richard's*. Upon  
 A. 1 & 2 H. 2 King *Henry's* Accession he retir'd into *Wales* to his Manor of *Glendour* or *Glendourdy*, from whence the Family receiv'd their Sirname. This Manor lying contiguous to another of the Lord *Ruthin's*, there happen'd a Law Suit between them, either as to the Extent of their Limits or Superiority, which being determin'd in Favour of the Lord *Ruthin* in the Courts of *Westminster*, *Glendour* had Recourse to Arms, and burnt and plunder'd his Adversary's Estate, and each of them raising their respective Vassals, there happen'd a sharp Engagement, in which the Lord *Ruthin* was made Prisoner.

*Glendour*  
 takes the  
 E. of *March*  
 Prisoner.

*Glendour*, elated with this Success, and finding his Countrymen generally averse to the Government of King *Henry*, propos'd their throwing off the *English* Yoke, which they very readily came into, and finding King *Henry* engag'd in the War with *Scotland*, made an Incurfion into *England*, under their Leader *Glendour*, to whom they gave the Title of *Prince of Wales*. *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who was then at his Lordship of *Wigmore*, upon the Borders, assembled such Troops as he cou'd get together on the sudden to make Head against the *Welch*, and coming to an Engagement, was defeated and made Prisoner by *Glendour*, which King *Henry* was not at all displeas'd with, *Mortimer* having at that time the best Right of any Man to the Crown of *England*; and for that very Reason the King never attempted to get him ransom'd or exchange'd.

About the same time *Manuel Paleologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, came over to *England* to



to solicit for a Reinforcement against *Bajazet* A.D. 1400  
Emperor of the *Turks*, but obtain'd only a  
Sum of Money of the King. A. 1 & 2 H. 4.

A Parliament being assembled on the 21st of *January* the following Year, the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire made in the late Reigns were confirm'd and enforc'd ; but the King having Occasion for the Countenance and Assistance of the Pope and Clergy to support him on his Throne, conniv'd still at the Pope's Provisions, notwithstanding this Statute which the Importunity of his Parliament had in a manner extorted from him ; and to give a further Instance of his Regard for the Church of *Rome*, he procur'd a Statute to pass for burning of Hereticks, then call'd *Lollards*, and Judgment being given against *William Sawtree*, a Disciple of *Wickliff's*, not long after, by the Archbishop and the Convocation, a Writ *de Heretico Comburendo*, was directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, by virtue whereof the Prisoner was burnt at a Stake, which is said to have been the first Execution of this kind in *England*. This Writ is found in *Rymer's Acts of State*, Vol. 8. p. 178. and bears teste 26th of *February* 1401. It appears he suffer'd as a Relapse. Another for burning Hereticks.

The King having renew'd the Truce with *France* the last Year, the *French* now demanded that the Princess *Isabella*, who was yet under twelve Years of Age, and had been contracted to the late King *Richard*, might be return'd, the Marriage never having been consummated, which the King at length consented to, and sent her over to *France* with all her Jewels, after he found that the *French* Court would not consent to her marrying the Prince of *Wales* ; but her Marriage Portion was not repaid, as the *French* King *Richard's* Queen sent back to *France*.

*A.D.* 1401 *French* expected it should. In *May* following the King married the Princess *Blanch*, his eldest Daughter, to *Lewis of Bavaria*, Palatine of the *Rhine*, and gave her a Fortune of forty thousand Pounds, for which he levied a Tax on the Subject by his own Authority.

*A.2&3H.4*  
The Princess *Blanch* married to the Emperor.

In the mean time the *Welsh* under *Glendour* continu'd to harraßs the *Engliß* Borders, which oblig'd King *Henry* to march thither in Person, but the Enemy retiring to their Mountains, he return'd without bringing them to an Engagement.

The Duke of *York* dies This Year died *Edmund* Duke of *York*, the King's Uncle, and was succeeded in that Honour by his eldest Son, *Edmund* Duke of *Albemarle*; he left also another Son, named *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, who married the Sister of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, from whom the House of *York* afterwards deriv'd their Title to the Crown.

The King was scarce return'd from his *Welsh* Expedition, but various Plots were form'd against him; it is related, that sharp Iron Spikes were found in his Bed, so plac'd that they would have kill'd him, if he had not discover'd them before he lay down, but by whom they were set there was never known.

*A.D.* 1402 The following Year a Report obtain'd Credit with the People, that King *Richard* was alive in *Scotland*. At the same time Libels were were posted up in all publick Places, declaring, that King *Henry's* Administration was much more Tyrannical than that of King *Richard's*; at which *Henry* was so enrag'd, that he hang'd up eight or nine Monks at once, who had affirm'd that *Richard* was living.

*A.3&4H.4*  
K. *Henry's* Administration libell'd.

ving, and with them Sir *Roger Clarendon*, *A.D. 1402*  
 Natural Son to the *Black Prince*. Many  
 more were apprehended, on their Names be- *A. 3 & 4 H. 4*  
 ing found in a List written by a Priest, sup-  
 pos'd to be disaffected, but several of them  
 appearing to be Friends to the present Admi-  
 nistration, they were discharg'd, and the Priest  
 only executed. He exe-  
 cutes  
 Sir *Roger*  
*Clarendon*,  
 and several  
 others.

The King made another fruitless Expedi-  
 tion to *Wales* this Year, the stormy Weather  
 and Floods prevented his effecting any thing;  
 whereupon the superstitious People imagin'd  
*Glendour* was assisted by the Devil to raise  
 these Tempests, and indeed most of our Hi-  
 storians are full of the Prodigies that happen'd  
 at the beginning of this War. The Horses  
 in *Glendour's* Stable, they tell us, were found  
 standing in Blood up to the Belly; arm'd  
 Troops were seen to issue out of the Woods  
 and engage, and then disappear; and the like,  
 which are mention'd here, not with Design  
 to countenance such Fictions, but to shew the  
 Credulity and Superstition of the People of  
 that Age. The *Scots* took the Opportunity of  
 the King's being engag'd with the *Welsh* to  
 insult the *English* Borders, and march'd as  
 far as *Newcastle*, but were defeated by the  
 Earl of *Northumberland* in two Engagements,  
 first at *Nisbet*, and afterwards at *Hallydown-*  
*hill*, in which last Battel the Earl of *Douglafs*  
 the General, the Earl of *Fife*, Nephew to  
 the King of *Scotland*, and many other Noble-  
 men were made Prisoners. At the same time  
 the Truce between the *French* and *English*  
 was very ill kept, tho' renew'd from Time to  
 Time, and yet neither Side car'd to enter into  
 a formal War. The *French* pretended, that  
 King *Henry* was unjust in detaining the Mar-  
 riage

The King  
 marches  
 against the  
*Welsh*.

The Scots  
 defeated at  
*Nisbet* and  
*Hallydown*.



A.D. 1402 riage Portion of King *Richard's* Queen; and  
 A. 3 & 4 H. 4 on the other hand, King *Henry* complain'd of  
 their Hostilities in *Guienne*, and of Troops  
 being sent to the Assistance of the *Welsh*; he  
 also insisted that the *French* had little Reason  
 to expect any return of the Princess *Isabell's*  
 Portion, when they had so long detain'd a  
 Million and half of Crowns, that were still  
 due to *England* for King *John's* Ransom.  
 Henry however apprehending that one time  
 or other he should be engag'd in a War with  
 France, married *Joanna*, the Widow of *John*  
 Duke of *Bretagne*, proposing by that means  
 to have the Guardianship of the young Duke,  
 and the Administration of the Government  
 of that Province put into his Hands; but the  
*Bretons* chose rather to commit their Duke  
 and his Brothers to the Care of the Court of  
*France*, than trust them with King *Henry*;  
 notwithstanding his having married their  
 Mother; and indeed they became his Ene-  
 mies ever afterwards, taking the *English* Ships  
 and plundering the Towns on the Sea-Coasts,  
 as if War had been declar'd. The Queen  
 came to *England* the following Year in the  
 Month of *February*; and the Marriage being  
 consummated, she was crown'd at *Westmin-*  
*ster*. Another Marriage was concluded about  
 the same time between *Henry's* second  
 Daughter *Philippa*, and *John* King of *Den-*  
*mark*. In the mean time the *French* made a  
 Descent in the *Isle of Wight*, and burnt several  
 Towns upon the Island, of which *Henry* com-  
 plain'd to the Court of *France*, and tho' he  
 could not procure any Satisfaction for the  
 Outrage, he durst not declare War against  
 that Kingdom, knowing the People of *Eng-*  
*land* were still disaffected to his Government.

Nay,



Nay, the Duke of *Orleans*, who had the Administration of Affairs at the *French* Court, proceeded so far as to challenge King *Henry* to engage him in a single Combat, or with any equal Number of Men, and on his Refusal, call'd him, *Traytor, Usurper, Murderer of his Sovereign*, and the like; but still the King would not be drawn into a foreign War, till he had secur'd himself at home. And indeed a War must have prov'd fatal to him at this Juncture, if the *French* had join'd the *English* Malecontents, he would have been in great Danger of losing the Crown he had usurp'd. And the only Reason they did not take the Advantage of our Divisions, as usual, was the Incapacity of their King for Government, which occasion'd violent Contentions among the Princes of the Blood in *France*, for the Administration; and even in these Circumstances, they did not fail to give *Henry* sufficient Marks of their Aversion to him.


In the mean time King *Henry* either began to be Jealous of the Men that had rais'd him to the Throne, or thought they took too much upon them, he seem'd resolv'd therefore to mortify them at least, and let them know that they must not expect to share with him in the Administration; he began first with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who having of late obtain'd two Victories over the *Scots* at *Nisbet* and *Hallidown*, had taken Earl *Douglas*, and a Multitude of other Prisoners of Distinction, these *Henry* demanded of him, without offering to allow him the Value of their Ransoms, which was look'd upon as very unjust in those Days, every Man being entitled to the Prisoners he took in War, as

The Earl of  
*Northumberland*  
disgusted.

*A.D.* 1403 an Encouragement for his Bravery. The Earl of *Northumberland* however, being compell'd to deliver up some of his Prisoners, did not spare to exclaim against the arbitrary Proceedings of the Court, and treated the King with such Language to his Face, as sufficiently manifested his Dissatisfaction; nor did he stop here, but enter'd into a Conspiracy with his Brother the Earl of *Worcester*, his Son *Piercy*, known by the Name of *Hotspur*, *Owen Glendour*, *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Earl *Douglas*, and several other Noblemen, to depose King *Henry*, and advance *Mortimer* to the Throne. And it is said to have been agreed among the Conspirators, that the Earl of *Northumberland* should enjoy that part of *England* which lies North of *Trent*, dependant of the Crown; that *Glendour* should remain Prince of *Wales*, and the Counties to the Westward of the *Severn*; and to *Douglas* was assign'd *Berwick* and the Country about it; and that they might not want a further Pretence for an Insurrection, they address'd the King to procure the Liberty of the Earl of *March*, who was made Prisoner in his Service, and had been suffer'd to remain so a considerable time. To which the King answer'd, that the Earl of *March* had taken Arms to preserve his own Lands, and not to serve him, and he might get his Freedom as he could, he should not pay his Ransom. Which was such an Answer as the Conspirators expected, and they knew would tend to alienate the Affections of the People from him, and induce them to cast their Eyes on the Earl of *March*.

He enters  
into a Con-  
spiracy  
with *Mor-  
timer* and  
*Glendour*.

They take  
up Arms, The Lords hereupon retir'd into the North, and apply'd themselves to the raising Forces, publishing

publishing at the same time a Declaration, *A.D. 1403*  
 wherein they shew'd that the King was en- *A.4&5 H.4*  
 tirely govern'd by the Clergy, and had no   
 regard to the Temporal Nobility, and the and publish  
 rest of his Lay Subjects; and that the Taxes a Declara-  
 given for the Service of the Kingdom, were tion.  
 applied to his private Use. In answer to  
 which, the King publish'd a Proclamation,  
 declaring his Regard for the Temporal No-  
 bility, and affirm'd that the greatest Part of  
 the Supplies rais'd by Parliament had been  
 paid into the Hands of the Earl of *Northum-*  
*berland*, to carry on the War against *Scotland*.  
 And thus having prepar'd the People by their  
 respective Declarations, the Earl of *Glou-*  
*cester*, young *Piercy*, and Earl *Douglas* drew  
 together some Forces about *Chester*, and  
 march'd into *Shropshire*, intending to have  
 made themselves Masters of *Shrewsbury*,  
 where they might have been easily reinforc'd  
 by *Glendour* and the *Welsh*. But before they  
 had made any Progress in this Siege, King *The Battel*  
*Henry* advancing towards them at the Head *of Shrews-*  
 of a numerous Army, young *Percy* and *Dou-*  
*glas* were prevail'd on by the Earl of *Wor-*  
*cester* to offer the King Battel, tho' they were  
 not yet join'd either by the *Welsh* or the Earl  
 of *Northumberland*; which Advice prov'd fa-  
 tal to the Conspirators, for tho' their Troops  
 fought admirably well, and both Generals  
 and private Men did all that could be ex-  
 pected from them, yet being overpower'd  
 and their General *Hotspur* kill'd in the En-  
 gagement, the King obtain'd a compleat  
 Victory. Young *Percy* and *Douglas*, it seems, *Young*  
 sensible of the Superiority of their Enemies, *Piercy*  
 depended chiefly on taking the King off in *kill'd*.  
 the beginning of the Engagement, and ac-  
 cordingly

*A.D.* 1403 cordingly charg'd with the utmost Fury, the  
*A.4&5H.4* Troops that defended the Royal Standard, and kill'd the Standard-Bearer; they also kill'd several Knights habited in the King's Coat Armour, and his Highness escap'd very narrowly by the Conduct of the Earl of *Dunbar*, who observing the Design of the Generals of the Malecontents, prevail'd on the King to change his Station, notwithstanding which he was once dismounted, and the Prince of *Wales*, his Son, wounded in the Face, in the violent Charges made by *Percy* and *Douglas*.

5000 of  
 the Male-  
 contents  
 kill'd.

The Earl  
 of *Worcester*  
 taken and  
 beheaded.

In this Battel fell most of the Gentlemen of *Cheeshire*, and about five thousand common Soldiers; and on the King's side, about fifteen hundred. *Hotspur* was at first ordered to be buried, but his Body was afterwards taken up, and his Quarters set up in several Parts of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Worcester*, and several other Officers of Distinction, who were made Prisoners, had their Heads struck off at *Shrewsbury*; but *Douglas*, who was taken at the same time, being a Foreigner, had his Liberty given him. The Earl of *Northumberland* hearing of the Misfortune of his Confederates, dismiss'd his Troops and retired to his Seat. However *Henry* march'd to *York*, and summoned the Earl to appear before him, being pretty well satisfied of his Intentions, and tho' the King, in Consideration of his former Services, thought fit to give him his Life, he depriv'd him of good part of his Estate. While the King was engag'd in suppressing this Insurrection, the *Bretons*, encourag'd by the Court of *France*, made a Descent in the *West of England*, and plunder'd the Country; which Affront *Henry*

The Earl of  
*Northum-*  
*berland*  
 pardon'd.

The Coast  
 insulted by  
 the *Bretons*.



ry thought fit to put up, as he had many more, rather than engage in a Foreign War. However, he gave leave to *William Wilford* and some other private Gentlemen to retaliate the Injury by ravaging the Coasts of *Bretagne*, and destroying their Ships; which they perform'd with great Success.

A.D. 1404

A. 5 &amp; 6 H. 4

The Parliament meeting in *January* following, the King, 'tis said, obtain'd of them the greatest Subsidy that ever was rais'd, and which was thought to be such an ill Precedent that it was order'd not to be recorded: But however burthensome that might appear then, if it was no more than what some Writers relate, viz. twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, and twelve Pence in the Pound on all Estates Real and Personal, we have seen much more grievous Taxes in our Days.

Extraordinary Taxes rais'd

A Report that *Richard* was living in *Scotland* obtain'd Credit again this Year among his Friends, by Means of one *Serlo*, who had been Gentleman of his Bedchamber, who being sent to *Scotland* by that Party to enquire into the Truth of it, for Reasons best known to himself, assur'd them that it was his old Master; but *Serlo* being afterwards apprehended, was hang'd at *Berwick*, and confess'd the Imposture; whereupon the People were undeceiv'd. This Man also, 'tis said, confess'd at his Execution that he was concern'd in the Murder of the Duke of *Gloucester*. The *Bretons* burnt and plunder'd the Towns upon the Coast again this Year, but were repuls'd at *Dartmouth* with considerable Loss. On the other hand *Owen Glendour* was very successful; he did not only maintain his Ground in *Wales*, but subdu'd several Places on the *English* Borders, which oblig'd the King to summon another

*Serlo* hang'd for reporting King *Richard* was alive.

The *Bretons* and *Welsh* troublesome.

*A.D.* 1404 ther Parliament; and the Sheriffs receiv'd particular Orders, 'tis said, to return no Men of Learning, or according to others no Lawyers, none that were learned in the Laws of the Land; the Reason of which seems to be, because the common Lawyers always oppos'd the Encroachments of the Pope and Clergy, who were at this time the King's fast Friends, and on whom he very much depended for his Establishment on his Throne. But whatever Instructions might have been given for electing Members that would be favourable to the Clergy, when the King demanded a Supply suitable to his Necessities, they address'd him to seize on part of the Revenues of the Clergy, for that they were possess'd of a third part of the Lands of *England*, and did him no personal Service, but spent their Revenues in Luxury and Idleness, instead of applying them to the Uses their Founders intended. This was vigorously oppos'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the rest of the Clergy, who gave the King to understand he would run the Hazard of losing his Crown if he listen'd to the Commons. Whereupon the King answer'd, he was firmly resolv'd to maintain the Rights of the Church, and should rather encrease than encourage the diminishing her Revenues. The Commons however brought in a Bill for applying part of the Revenues of the Clergy to the Necessities of the Publick; but it was rejected in the upper House by the Influence of the Court and Clergy, and the Supplies were rais'd by other Means. However, the Commons for their Attempt against the Clergy, or from the Instructions given to the Sheriffs to suffer none to be elected that were learned in the Laws and Customs of their Country,

The Sheriffs order'd to return none but Blockheads to Parliament.

The Commons petition that the Revenues of the Clergy might be apply'd to the Uses of the Publick.

The Motion rejected.

Country, obtain'd the Name of the *Lack-learning Parliament*.

The *Welsh* still continuing in Arms and insulting the *English* Borders, a great Army was sent down against them under the Command of the Prince of *Wales*, who defeated them in two Engagements, but neither of them were decisive; they still continu'd their Hostilities, in Expectation of being supported by the *French*, and of an Insurrection in *England*. The *French*, notwithstanding the Truce, 'tis related, had taken above sixty Towns from the *English* in *Guienne*. And the Earl of *Northumberland* at the same time form'd another Plot, with Dr. *Scroop* Archbishop of *York*, (who had been preferr'd by King *Richard*) for dethroning *Henry*. They were join'd by *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marshal, the Lords *Bardolph*, *Hastings*, *Falconbridge*, and several other Noblemen, who having drawn together a great many Troops in the North, publish'd a Declaration, complaining that *Henry*, when he came to *England*, pretended he only desir'd to recover his Paternal Estate, and yet had usurp'd the Crown. That he had imprison'd and murder'd his Sovereign. That he had unjustly put to Death several Persons of Distinction only for endeavouring to rectify his Male-Administration. That he had oppress'd the People by Taxes, violated their Rights and Privileges, and particularly had destroy'd their Freedom in the Elections of Members of Parliament. That he had refus'd to pay the Earl of *March*'s Ransom, &c. and therefore they had taken up Arms to deliver the Nation from this Tyrannical Oppressor.

They are call'd the *Lack-learning Parliament*.

A.D. 1405

A.6&7 H.4

The *Welsh* defeated by the Prince of *Wales*.

The *French* break the Truce.

The Earl of *Northumberland* and the Archbishop of *York* in another Plot.

The

A.D. 1405

A.6&amp;7H.4



The Arch-  
bishop of  
*York*, the  
Earl Mar-  
shal, &c.  
betray'd  
and exe-  
cuted.

The Earl  
of *Nor-*  
*thumber-*  
*land* retires  
to *Scotland*.

12,000  
*French* land  
in *Wales*.

The Earl of *Westmoreland*, who commanded the King's Troops in the North, finding the Malecontents were superior to him, propos'd to do that by Stratagem which he could not effect by plain Force. Accordingly he desir'd a Conference with some of the Chiefs of the Malecontents, and so artfully insinuated that he was no less disgusted with the Administration than themselves that they took him into their Confidence; whereupon he soon found an Opportunity of seizing and delivering up both the Archbishop of *York* and the Earl Marshal into the King's Hands without striking a Stroke, which so discourag'd the rest of the Party, that the Earl of *Northumberland* could not prevent their dispersing, and he was forc'd to take Refuge with the Lord *Bardolph* in *Scotland*. In the mean time the Archbishop of *York* and the Earl Marshal had their Heads struck off at *Pontefract*; and the Lords *Hastings* and *Falconbridge* being taken Prisoners as they were retiring Northwards, were executed in like manner.

This Insurrection was scarce suppress'd, when twelve thousand *French*, under the Command of the Marshal *de Montmerency*, landed in *Wales*, and join'd *Owen Glendour*. Whereupon *Henry* march'd that way with an Intention to give them Battel; but the Weather prov'd so unseasonable, and the Floods rose to such a Height, that he lost most of his Baggage, and was forc'd to return to *London* without attacking the *Welsh*. In the mean time the *French* reimbarc'd their Troops and return'd to *France*, when they understood that the Malecontents in the North were dispers'd, on whom they principally rely'd.



The following Year, a Parliament being assembled in the beginning of *March*, the Commons brought in a Bill for securing the Freedom of Elections which had been frequently violated in this Reign; and as the King stood in need of Supplies, he did not think fit to oppose the passing of it. But he was surpriz'd after this Indulgence that they still refus'd to raise any Money. He had recourse therefore to an expedient that has since been us'd with great Success upon the like Occasions. He continu'd the Sessions to the Heat of Summer, when those who had no Dependance on the Court being retir'd into the Country to mind their private Affairs, he found it no difficult Matter to prevail on the small Residue that were left, and consisted chiefly of such as had Places and Pen-sions to obtain what he demanded. He prevail'd also on the same Sett of Men to consent to an Act for excluding Females from the Crown of *England*; but it was repeal'd at the next Meeting of the Parliament, and order'd to be raz'd out of the Rolls. He wou'd have insinuated, 'tis said, that the Salique Law was in Force in *England* as well as *France*, which he apprehended would strengthen his Title, his Competitor, the Earl of *March*, claiming by a Female; but by all his Arts he could not persuade the Nation to be of this Opinion: The utmost he could obtain was an Act for limiting the Succession to his Heirs in general, without excluding the Females.

During this Parliament the King treated with the *Scots* to deliver up the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolph*; and 'tis said apply'd some of the Money that was given him in this Parliament that Way. The

A.D. 1406

A. 7 &amp; 8 H. 4

An Act for the Freedom of Elections.

An Artifice of the Court to obtain a Supply

An Act for excluding Females from the Crown repeal'd.

The Succession limited by Parliament.

*A.D. 1406* Scots, it seems, were easily purchas'd; but  
 the Lord *Flemming*, at whose House the two  
*A. 7 & 8 H. 4* Lords were entertain'd in *Scotland*, gave his  
 The Earl Guests Notice of this Treaty, and they retir'd  
 of *Nor-* into *Wales*; and *Flemming* was murder'd by  
*thumber-* his Countrymen for making the Discovery.  
*land* and His Son afterwards reveng'd his Death; and  
 Lord *Bar-* this occasion'd the forming two Parties in that  
*dolph* retire into *Wales*. Kingdom, who prosecuted each other with  
 great Violence. As to the King of *Scotland*,  
 he is reported to be a weak Prince, and to  
 have very little Influence on the great Men.  
 His Brother, the Duke of *Albany*, had in a  
 manner depriv'd him of the Administration,  
 and actually dispatch'd one of his Sons. Least  
 the other therefore should fall a Sacrifice to  
 that Duke, the King sent him to *France*;  
 but he was taken Prisoner in his Passage by  
 some *English* Mariners, and being brought to  
 King *Henry*, was detain'd in *England* a great  
 while, where the King, however, took care  
 he should have a liberal Education. The  
 King of *Scotland* liv'd but three Days after he  
 receiv'd the News of his Sons being taken by  
 the *English*; whereupon the Duke of *Albany*  
 continu'd to govern the Kingdom of *Scotland*,  
 in the Name of his Nephew, during his Con-  
 finement.

*A.D. 1407* King *Henry* was not yet freed from his  
 Fears of losing the Crown. Papers still con-  
 tinu'd to be posted up, declaring King *Richard*  
*A. 8 & 9 H. 4* was alive; and the *French* at the same time  
 The *French* attempted to reinforce *Owen Glendour* again,  
 send a Re- but most of their Fleet was dispers'd by a  
 inforce- Storm. The Plague also raging in *London*,  
 ment to carried off 30,000 of the Inhabitants this  
*Glendour*. Year; and the King, to avoid the Infection,  
 A great going by Sea to one of his Seats in *Norfolk*,  
 Plague. attended

attended by only six small Ships, was set upon by the *French*, and every one of the Vessels taken except that he was in, which very narrowly escap'd. Nor was this thought to have happen'd by Accident, but suppos'd to be a Contrivance of some about the King to deliver him into the Hands of his Enemies.

*A.D. 1407*  
*A.8&9H.4.*  
The King narrowly escapes being taken at Sea.

The Duke of *Burgundy* had laid a Design of besieging *Calais* this Year, as he had done several times before, but his Attempts were always frustrated, which he ascrib'd to the Practices of the Duke of *Orleans* the *French* King's Brother; and upon this and some other Affronts he had receiv'd from that Prince, he caus'd him to be assassinated at *Paris* in the Month of *November*. Nor did he scruple to own himself the Author of the Murder. He had so great an Influence on that Court, that he even compell'd the King to grant him a Pardon for the Fact. But to return to *England*. The Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolph*, who were at this time in *Wales*, concerted Measures with *Owen Glendour*, to raise another Insurrection in the North while he attack'd King *Henry's* Forces on the Side of *Wales*. Accordingly the Earl went with the Lord *Bardolph* to *Scotland*, where having rais'd some Forces, they advanc'd thro' the Northern Counties, and soon rais'd a considerable Force; but entring *Yorkshire* they were encounter'd by Sir *Thomas Rokesby*, the High Sheriff, and defeated, the Earl of *Northumberland* being kill'd upon the Spot, and *Bardolph* mortally wounded; their Heads being afterwards cut off, were sent to the King, who order'd them to be plac'd upon *London Bridge*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* assassinates the Duke of *Orleans*.

*A.D. 1408*  
*9&10H.4.*

The Earl of *Northumberland* raises another Insurrection and is kill'd in an Engagement.

A.D. 1409

10 & 11 H<sub>4</sub>

Two con-  
tending  
Popes de-  
pos'd, and  
a third e-  
lected.

There having been for thirty Years a Schism in the Church of *Rome*, the Council of *Pisa* about this time depos'd both the contending Popes, and advanc'd *Peter de Candia* to the Papacy, who stil'd himself *Alexander the Fifth*. The Courts of *France* and *England* were generally in opposite Interests in these Contentions between the several Popes; and as the *French* still adher'd to *Clement*, King *Henry* issu'd a Proclamation in favour of *Alexander*.

*Wickliffe's*  
Doctrines  
condemn'd  
at *Oxford*.

But whoever was acknowledg'd Pope, the poor *Lollards*, the Disciples of the celebrated Dr. *Wickliffe* already mention'd, seldom fail'd to be persecuted for disputing the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, Transubstantiation, and other absurd Doctrines, and in this Reign more violently than ever, the Clergy having obtain'd an Act for burning those whom they shou'd adjudge guilty of Heresy. The *Lollards* were become very numerous all over the Kingdom, and some of the greatest Doctors in the University of *Oxford* defended their Opinions; but the Clergy had still so much Interest there as to get their Doctrines condemn'd in Convocation, and the Members of the University were prohibited adhering to them on Pain of Degradation and Expulsion.

A.D. 1410

11 & 12 H<sub>4</sub>

The *Welsh*  
forc'd to  
submit.

The Court of *France* being now distracted with Factions, so that they could no longer afford the *Welsh* any Assistance, that People submitted themselves to the Dominion of King *Henry*. And *Glendour* being forsaken by his Countrymen was forc'd to conceal himself in the Mountains to avoid the Vengeance he was threatned with. Nor had *England* any thing to fear from the *Scots*, while their King was a Prisoner here; whereupon King *Henry* began to assume a more despotick Power than ever,



ever, particularly in modelling his Parliaments. The Sheriffs were order'd to have no Regard to the Majority of Voices in Elections, but to return only such Members as they knew wou'd be govern'd by the Court. The Upper House was at the King's Devotion, and the Clergy no less, he having protected their Rights and Properties against the Attempts of the Commons, and assisted them with the secular Arm to destroy their Enemies the *Lollards*; in return for which Favour they readily connived at his assuming an unlimited Power; but nothing contributed to set him above the Laws so much as his purchasing a House of Commons compos'd of his own Creatures; even *Rapin* cou'd observe on this Occasion, *That the Liberties of the English no longer had a Being; that if the Sovereign once came to chuse what Representatives he pleas'd, the Bounds of the Royal Authority wou'd be so vastly enlarg'd that nothing but the mere Shadow of Liberty wou'd remain.* Adding, *That all the Kings of England who have enjoy'd a more absolute Power than the rest, got it by procuring a House of Commons devoted to them; when a Parliament is compos'd of such Members; it is no longer the King that is charg'd with the Encroachments made on the People's Liberties, but it is the Nation it self that voluntarily runs into Slavery; and if they wou'd throw off their Chains, there is no Remedy to be had but by Force of Arms.*

The Commons however were not yet so entirely resign'd to the Usurper's Pleasure, but they insisted on his passing an Act for fining the Sheriffs who should make false Returns. They again presented a Petition also against the Clergy, shewing how their Revenues were misapply'd,

*A.D. 1419*  


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*11 & 12 H<sub>4</sub>*  
 The Sheriffs order'd to return Members of Parliament devoted to the Court.

Petitions  
 against the  
 Clergy.

*A.D.* 1410 misapply'd, and praying that Part of them might be appropriated to the Defence of the Kingdom. They also petitioned that the Statute for burning such People as the Clergy stil'd Hereticks might be repeal'd, (the Commons themselves being Favourers of those Opinions) and it is highly probable that the persecuting Spirit of the Clergy of those Days was the real Occasion of the several Attempts that were made for lessening their Revenues. The Commons cou'd not foresee how far this Charge of Heresy might be extended ; both the King and the Clergy might make it a Pretence for taking off any Person they did not like, and their Lives and Estates consequently by these Means wou'd become as precarious as in the most arbitrary Governments. But the King stuck close to his Friends the Clergy, and in his Answer to the Petitions of the Commons, prohibited them to meddle any further in the Affairs of the Church ; he would never consent, he said, to diminish her Rights, and wish'd that the *Lollards* were extirpated out of the Kingdom ; and to shew that he was in earnest, he soon after order'd one *Thomas Bradley*, a Disciple of *Wickliffe's*, to be burnt at the Stake. The Prince, who was present at the Execution, observing with Horror the Tortures poor *Bradley* endur'd in the Flames, order'd the Fire to be extinguish'd, and offer'd him his Life and a Pension if he wou'd recant : But the brave Martyr, tho' he had experienc'd the exquisite Torture, chose rather to return to the Stake than deny his Principles.

The King  
stands by  
the Clergy.

One burnt  
for Heresy.

The King  
desires a  
perpetual  
Bill of Cre-  
dit.

The King it seems in this Parliament propos'd their giving him a perpetual Bill of Credit, that whether the Parliament assembled,

bled or not, he might levy every Year Subsidies on the Subject ; but they were so far from granting this, that it was with Difficulty he obtain'd a Supply for the Service of the ensuing Year ; nor had they granted this if he had not had recourse to his former Artifice of continuing the Sessions to the Heat of Summer, when most of the Country Gentlemen were gone to their Seats.

Great Part of the following Year was spent in Treaties for prolonging the Truce with *France, Spain, or Scotland* ; but the most important was that between King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke of *Orleans*, Son of that Duke whom *Burgundy* had murder'd, having confederated with the Dukes of *Berry, Alençon, Bretagne, and Armagnac*, had driven the Duke of *Burgundy* from the Court of *France*, which occasion'd his calling in the *English* to his Assistance : King *Henry* thereupon enter'd into an Alliance with him, and sent over a good Body of Troops to join with the Duke's Adherents, who being now superior to his Enemies, march'd up to *Paris*, where he was reciev'd with the loud Acclamations of the People, his Enemies the *Armagnacs* (who were so denominated from the Earl of *Armagnac* their celebrated General) retiring from that City upon his Approach.

The *Orleans* Faction finding they were not able to make head against the Duke of *Burgundy* while he was assisted by the *English*, offer'd King *Henry* his own Terms if he wou'd change Hands and come over to their Party : They even promis'd to deliver up above 1000 Towns they were in Possession of in *Guenne* and *Poitou*, which were Terms so very advantageous that King *Henry* without giving the Duke

A.D. 1410

11 & 12 H4

A.D. 1411

12 & 13 H4

K. Henry assists the D. of Burgundy against the Orleans Faction.

A.D. 1412

13 & 14 H4

He changes Sides and supports the D. of Orleans against Burgundy.

A.D. 1412

13 &amp; 14 H4



of *Burgundy* the least Notice, or being at all concern'd in breaking through the Alliance he had made with him, immediately sent over an Army to join the *Orleanse* Faction under the Command of his Brother Prince *Thomas*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*. In the mean time the Duke of *Burgundy* receiving Advice that his Enemies expected a Reinforcement from *England*, laid Siege to the City of *Bourges*, where the Heads of that Party were assembled, who being apprehensive the Town might be taken before the Succours arriv'd from *England*, struck up a Peace with *Burgundy*, of which the Duke of *Clarence*, who was come as far as *Blois*, being appriz'd, bent his March towards *Guienne*, burning and plundering the Country in his Passage thither.

The Prince  
of *Wales's*  
Frolicks.

We meet with scarce any other considerable Transactions in this Reign unless some Frolicks of the Prince of *Wales*: He associated himself 'tis related, not only with the most notorious Debauchees and Libertines, but even with Felons and Robbers, and frequently robb'd in their Company; particularly, 'tis related, that he once set upon the Collectors of the Taxes, and took from them a considerable Sum of Money, and that one of his Companions happening to be apprehended and try'd before the Lord Chief Justice for some Offence of this Kind, he came into *Westminster-Hall* and sat him down upon the Bench in order to over-awe the Judge; and when he found that his Friend was condemn'd notwithstanding all his Endeavours to bring him off, he struck the Judge a Blow on the Face; whereupon the Chief Justice had the Courage to order the Prince to be taken into Custody, which the King highly approv'd of, looking upon the Offence to be committed against him whose Person the Chief Justice represented.

These



These Sallies of the Prince created the King a great deal of Uneasiness, and he made him sensible of his Resentment by dismissing him from the Council Table, and making his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* President in his room: Some say he had Thoughts of altering the Succession; whereupon the Prince apprehending the ill Consequences of his Father's Displeasure, abandon'd his leud Companions, and came and submitted himself to the King in the humblest Manner, and was reconcil'd to him. It was but a very little while after that the King was seiz'd with a dangerous Illness; when reflecting by what violent Means he had ascended and established himself on the Throne, in order to make some Attonement for all the Bloodshed and Injustice he had been guilty of, he vow'd to undertake the Crusade if he recover'd, and go in Person to the *Holy Land*, which in the Opinion of the Clergy of these times was the most meritorious Service a Sinner could undertake to procure Absolution; but he did not live to perform his Vow. It is reported that the Prince entring into Discourse with him while he lay on his Death-bed concerning the Succession of the Crown, the King cry'd out, *What Right I had to it God only knows*; to which the Prince reply'd, *You got it by the Sword, and by the Sword I will maintain it*. But whatever Truth there was in this, the King died at his Palace of his *Westminster* on the 20th of *March*, in the 47th Year of his Age and the 14th of his Reign, *A.D.* 1413, and his Body was interr'd at *Canterbury*.

*A.D.* 141*A.* 14 *H.* 4The King  
taken ill.King Hen-  
ry dies.His Person  
and Cha-  
racter,  
with some  
Remarks  
on his  
Reign.

The King was of a middle Stature, and extremely well proportioned: He is allow'd to be a Prince of great Parts and Abilities, but immoderately ambitious; his Repose, Honour,

nour, Conscience, and every thing else that was valuable, were sacrific'd to the enchanting Glories of a Crown : The delivering the Nation from Oppression indeed was the pretended Motive for his dethroning *Richard*; but it was evidently his Thirst after Sovereign Power that was the principal Inducement to that Attempt. We see this very Prince, who exclaim'd against putting Noblemen to Death without a legal Tryal, beheading several without any Form of Law, even before he ascended the Throne : We see him compelling the King to call a Parliament, and influencing the Elections by a lawless Force, 'till he obtain'd such a one as concurr'd in the deposing and imprisoning the King, and advancing him to the Throne ; and at last we find him despising the pretended Election of the People, and claiming the Crown by Conquest, that he might be under no Restraint in the Exercise of his Dominion.

The very first Transaction after his Accession shews he never intended to have any Regard to the Laws and Customs of *England*, for he appointed the Lords and Members of the last House of Commons to assemble and sit again as a new Parliament, by his sole Authority, without issuing out Writs for summoning them, or giving the People an Opportunity of electing their Representatives ; and quite through his Reign we find him either by Threats, Bribes, or other Artifices, driving or wheadling, and sometimes tricking the Parliament into destructive Measures ; he does not seem to be ignorant of those Arts of managing an *English* Parliament that have been practis'd in later Reigns ; but the greatest Insult on the Freedom of Elections

was

was that general Order to the Sheriffs and chief Officers of Corporations, that they shou'd suffer none but Blockheads, none but such as were ignorant in the Laws and Customs of their Country to be return'd Members of the House of Commons. By these Means he became in effect as absolute as the Grand Signior, and more securely so, as his acting in concurrence with such bias'd or corrupted Parliaments skreen'd him from the Charge of Tyranny and Oppression, and fix'd it rather on the two Houses; as he did nothing without the Advice and Consent of the pretended Representatives of the People, they had no room to clamour against him. But of all the vile Acts that ever he prevail'd on his obsequious Parliament to concur with him in, that of the Murder of the King, who was not only his Sovereign but his near Relation, was the most universally detested. After this we need no longer wonder at his beheading the principal Nobility, and hanging up the Commons by Dozens, 'till he had perfectly subdu'd the Laws as well as the Spirit of the Nation. Such a DELIVERER, such a PROTECTOR was this Prince, who usurp'd the Throne under Pretence of rescuing the People from Slavery; and this laudable Pattern have some zealously recommended to future Generations for their Imitation. It is this Prince also that procur'd an Act to pass for the burning of Protestants, and the first were actually burnt in *England* in his Reign, which was done with no other View but to make the Popish Clergy his Friends. Another Misfortune also attend'd this Reign, which is the usual Effect of Usurpations; the King was so much afraid of en-



tering into a foreign War, that he suffer'd the Kingdom to be ravag'd and insulted on every Side: The *French*, the *Bretons*, and the *Welsh*, burnt and plunder'd the Kingdom for several Years with Impunity: He durst not enter into a formal War, lest he shou'd give his Subjects an Opportunity of knocking off their Shackles and recovering their lost Liberties. And after all, what were his Enjoyments? what were the Fruits of all his Care and Toil? how did the Throne which he ascended and maintain'd himself in at the Expence of so much Blood, answer his Expectations? He found himself every Year in his short Reign almost exercis'd with Conspiracies and Insurrections at home, and Insults from abroad: And when he had perfectly subdu'd his People, and put them out of a Capacity of giving him any Disturbance, how was his Soul ruffled by the Vices and Extravagance of the Prince his eldest Son? What Jealousies did he entertain that his own House wou'd rise up against him and deprive him of his Crown by the same cruel Means he had taken to acquire it. If these are the Fruits of Rebellion and Usurpation, who wou'd envy the Possessor of such a Throne? What Treachery, what Murders, what Violence and Devastations has that Prince to answer for who wrests the Scepter out of the Hands of his Sovereign, and tyrannizes over his Fellow-Subjects! Can he ever enjoy a Moment's Peace in this World, or think of another without Horror!

The Title  
of H. 4<sup>th</sup>

The Title of this King has been consider'd already, or rather it has been shewn, that he had no Pretence to the Crown he possess'd: I proceed herefore to give an Account of his Marriage

and



and Issue. He had two Wives; the first was *Mary* one the Daughters and Coheirs of *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*, and Constable of *England*: He marry'd her when he was Earl of *Derby*, and she died *Anno* 1394, before he came to the Crown. He had by her four Sons and two Daughters; *Henry* his eldest Son was Prince of *Wales*, and succeeded his Father; his second Son was *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, and Steward of *England*, who was slain at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, and died without Issue; his third Son was *John* Duke of *Bedford*, he marry'd first with *Anne* Daughter of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, and secondly with *Jacoba* Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxemburgh* Earl of *St. Paul*, but died also without Issue; his fourth Son was *Humphry*, by his Brother King *Henry V* created Duke of *Gloucester*, and was generally call'd the *Good Duke*; he had two Wives, but died without Issue in the Year 1446, and was buried at *St. Alban's*, tho' the vulgar Opinion be that he lies buried in *St. Paul's Church*. Of King *Henry* the 4th's Daughters, *Blanch* the elder was married to *Lewis Barbatous*, Palatine of the *Rhine* and Prince Elector; *Philippa* his younger Daughter was married to *John* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*. His second Wife was *Joan* Daughter to *Charles* the first, King of *Navarre*, she being the Widow of *John de Montford* surnamed *Streany* or the *Conqueror*, Duke of *Bretagne*, who died without any Issue by King *Henry*.

I shall conclude this Reign with a short Abstract of some remarkable Acts that pass'd in it which have not been mention'd already, or but very slightly.

By

Acts pass'd  
in this  
Reign.

By 2 *Hen. 4. Cap. 14.* It was enacted, That where any Purveyor took Provisions for the King's Use under the Value of forty Shillings, he should pay for them immediately.

By *Cap. 15* of the same Year, That none should preach without the License of the Diocesan, or preach or write any thing contrary to the Catholick Faith or the Determinations of Holy Church, or assemble in Heretical Conventicles, or favour such Preachers, on pain of being burnt (after Conviction before the Ordinary) if they obstinately persisted in their Errors.

By *Cap. 20.* it was enacted, That no *Welshman* should purchase Lands in *England*, or in any *English* Town in *Wales*. And by 4 *H. 4.* That no *Welshman* should be in Office, or permitted to bear Arms.

By 4 *H. 4. Cap. 3.* The Liberties of the Holy Church are confirm'd ; and it was enacted that no Clerk convicted of Felony should be oblig'd to make his Purgation.

By *Cap. 12.* That where there are any Appropriations of Benefices, Provision shall be made for the Poor and the Vicar.

By *Cap. 15.* That Foreign Merchants shall lay out the Money they receive upon other Merchandizes of this Realm.

By *Cap. 16.* That no Gold or Silver should be carried out of the Realm without the King's License.

By *Cap. 17.* That Infants might be receiv'd into the Orders of Friars without the Consent of their Parents.

By 5 *H. 4. Cap. 4.* That it should be Felony to use the Craft of multiplying Gold or Silver.

By *Cap. 5.* That it should be Felony to cut out a Person's Tongue, or pull out his Eyes.

By *7 H. 4. Cap. 2.* The Realms of *England* and *France* are entail'd on the King's four Sons by Name.

By *Cap. 8.* That no Provision, License or Pardon, should be granted of a Benefice, fall of an Incumbent.

By *Cap. 14.* That Noblemen and Gentlemen should give no Liveries but to their menial Servants.

*Cap. 15.* recites, That at the grievous Complaint of the Commons of the undue Election of the Knights of Counties for the Parliament which the Sheriffs return'd out of Affection or otherwise, and not according to the Tenor of the Writs directed to them, it was therefore enacted, That the Names of the Persons elected should for the future be return'd in Indentures, seal'd by the Electors and the respective Sheriffs. And by the Statute of the *11th H. 4.* it was further enacted, That every Sheriff who made an undue Return should forfeit an hundred Pounds.

It appears that whenever the Parliament granted the King a 15th in this Reign, the Clergy usually granted him a Tenth; and when the King, in the 9th Year of his Reign, desir'd he might be empower'd to levy a 15th every Year on the Laity whether the Parliament sat or not, tho' the Parliament would not consent to it, the Clergy however were so devoted to him that they gave him leave to levy a Tenth.

In this Reign the Court of the Dutchy of *Lancaster* was instituted in Honour of that House, and that the Lands belonging to that Dutchy might be known and distinguish'd from the Lands of the Crown. C H A P.

The Court of the Dutchy of *Lancaster* instituted.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Contains the Reign of HENRY V.*

A.D. 1413

A. 1 Hen. 5.

His Accession.

Coronation

Does Pen-  
nance for  
the Murder  
of King  
Richard.

**H**ENRY, born at *Monmouth* in the Year 1388, in the 11th of *Richard II.* succeeded his Father in the Throne of *England* on the 20th of *March*, A. D. 1413, without Opposition, from *Edmond Mortimer* Earl of *March*, (descended from an elder Branch of the Royal Family) and was Crown'd in *Westminster-Abbey* by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on the ninth of *April* following; soon after which he call'd before him the leud Companions of his Youth, advised them to leave off their ill Courses, and made each of them a handsome Present, but order'd them at the same time never to come near the Court for the future. Then he proceeded to supply the Privy Council and Courts of Justice with Men of the greatest Abilities and Integrity; and reflecting on the Cruelty and Injustice done the late King *Rich. II.* he sent to *Rome*, desiring to be absolv'd from the Guilt of his Blood, tho' shed by his Father, offering to perform any Pennance that should be enjoin'd him on that Account. He also remov'd the Corpse of that Prince from *Langley*, and caus'd it to be interr'd by that of *Anne* his Queen in *Westminster-Abbey*, as he had desir'd in his Will. He also founded three Religious Houses near *Shene*, the Monks whereof were to pray for the Soul of the murder'd King, which was look'd upon as a signal Act of Piety in those Days: But what pleas'd the Clergy much more was, his concurring with them







them in persecuting the *Lollards*, the Disciples of *Wickliffe*. And as Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, a Courtier in great Esteem with his Prince, was deem'd the Chief Protector of this Sect, the Archbishop apply'd himself to the King for leave to prosecute him, which was deny'd at first; but the King afterwards discoursing with Sir *John*, and finding he could not prevail with him to alter his Opinion, he left the Clergy to proceed against him as they saw fit, and publish'd a Proclamation against the *Lollards* at the same time, prohibiting their assembling for Divine Worship. Sir *John* refusing to obey the Bishop's Summons, the King caus'd him to be apprehended and sent to the Tower, from whence he was brought before the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishops of *London* and *Winchester* to St. *Paul's* on the 23d of *September*, when he was inform'd by the Court that certain Articles had been exhibited against him in Convocation, and that he had been excommunicated for his Contumacy in not appearing before them when he was cited, but that they were however ready to absolve him on his Submission. To which Sir *John* answer'd, He would gladly make Profession of his Faith before them; and having obtain'd leave, he pull'd an indented Writing out of his Bosom and read it, wherein he declares, That he believ'd that the very Body of *Christ* did exist under the Species of Bread in the Sacrament of the Altar. That as to the Sacrament of Penance, he believ'd it necessary to repent and amend their wicked Lives, and make Satisfaction according to the Holy Scriptures, without which none could hope for Salvation. As to Images, he look'd upon them to be

A.D. 1413

A. 1 Hen 5.

He countenances the Persecution of the *Lollards*.

Sir *John Oldcastle* apprehended.

His Account of his Faith before the Archbishop, &c.



A.D. 1413

A. 1 Hen. 5.

guilty of Idolatry that worshipp'd them. As to Pilgrimages, he thought those who liv'd in Obedience to God's Commands would be fav'd, tho' they never went a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, *Canterbury* or *Compostella*, or any other Place.

This not satisfying the Court, they requir'd him to answer directly whether he believ'd that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after Consecration, there remain'd material Bread or not, and whether he believ'd that in the Sacrament of Penance it was necessary to confess to a Priest where he might be had.

To which he answer'd positively, That he would not declare himself otherwise, nor return any other Answer than was contain'd in his Writing which he deliver'd into the Court.

Sir *John* being brought before the Court again on the 25th of *September*, and examin'd concerning certain Points held by the Church of *Rome*, and also offer'd Absolution if he desir'd it, answer'd, he desir'd no Absolution from them, but only from God; and declar'd that he believ'd in the Sacrament of the Altar there was the very Body of Christ and real Bread; the Bread was the thing we saw with our Eyes; and the Body of Christ, which was hidden under it, was not seen. That Confession to a Priest was not at all necessary. That the Cross ought not to be worshipp'd. And he held that the Pope, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, made up the true Antechrist; and that there was no Obedience due to them any further than they imitated *Christ* and *Peter* in their Lives and Conversations. Then Sir *John* turning to the People, said aloud, Those who sit in Judgment on me will seduce you all and lead you to Hell,



Hell, and therefore take good heed of them. *A.D. 1413*  
 Whereupon the Court proceeded to pass Judgment on him as an Heretick and Apostate, *A. 1 H. 5.*  
 and deliver'd him over to the Secular Arm, declaring all Persons excommunicated who gave him Council, Aid or Comfort; and this Sentence was order'd to be publish'd in every Parish Church in the Province of *Canterbury*. But Sir *John* had the good Fortune to make his Escape out of the Tower into *Wales*, whereby he avoided their Rage for some time.

The Parliament assembling soon after the King's Accession, *viz.* on the 15th of *May*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor, the King's Uncle, made a Speech at the opening of it, acquainting the Houses that the King had call'd them together to have their Advice concerning the Support of his Royal Estate and Dignity, the due Execution of the Laws and good Government of the Realm; and lastly, to consider of Foreign Alliances and the Defence of the Kingdom against its Enemies. After which the Commons being order'd to chuse a Speaker, elected *William Stourton*, and presented him to his Highness on the 18th, who being approv'd as usual, the Commons came up in a Body again the 22d Instant with their Speaker, who represented to the King, that many fair Promises had been made them in the time of his Father for the due Observation of the Laws, but that they had not however been put in Execution, and desir'd they might be better observ'd for the future. Whereupon they were order'd to reduce the Particulars of their Complaints to Writing, that they might be redress'd.

The first Parliament after the King's Accession.

They take Notice of the Violation of the Laws in the late Reign.

The Commons afterwards granted the King the same Subsidy on Staple Wares, with Tonnage

A Subsidy granted with Tonnage.

*A.D.* 1413 *A. 1 H. 5.* Members of Parliament to be resident where chosen. nage and Poundage for four Years, as had been granted *Anno* 13 *H. 4.* And an Act pass'd confirming former Statutes in relation to the Election of Knights of Shires, declaring further, that none should be capable of being elected a Knight, or suffer'd to be Electors, who were not resident in their respective Counties. It was also enacted that none should be elected Citizens and Burgeffes to serve in Parliament who were not resident and free of the several Cities and Boroughs for which they were Candidates.

Priors Aliens seiz'd. An Act also pass'd that the Revenues of the Priors Aliens, who were possess'd of no less than one hundred and ten Convents, should be seiz'd into the King's Hands.

Provisors. And the Statutes made against Provisors from *Rome* were confirm'd.

Treaty between France and England. In the mean time the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *England*, met at *Lelingham* in *Picardy*, to treat of a Peace between the two Nations, when to the surprize of the *French*, the *English* demanded that their Master should restore all that had been taken from them since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. Whereupon Ambassadors were sent to *London*, to sound King *Henry* if he was in earnest in this Demand, to whom the King declar'd, he was not averse to treating with them, but all that they could obtain of him was a prolongation of the Truce, for the *Orleans* and *Burgundian* Factions were so violently set upon the Destruction of each other at this time, that the King plainly foresaw he should e'er long meet with an Opportunity of recovering the *English* Territories in *France*, which his Ancestors had been unjustly depriv'd of. But before the reviving of the War between *France* and *England*,

land, another kind of War was carried on in *England*, between the Ecclesiasticks and the Disciples of *Wickliff*, if that may be call'd a War, where all the Force is on one side. The *Lollards* were now so numerous all over the Kingdom, that the Clergy began to be apprehensive, if they were not speedily suppress'd, they should lose not only their Authority and Influence, but even their Revenues, Attempts having been made more than once in the House of Commons, to apply the Revenues of the Clergy to Secular Uses. The Archbishop therefore and his Brethren suggested to the King, that these *Lollards* were no less Enemies to the State than the Church, and that there was a Conspiracy actually now on Foot, for raising twenty thousand Men, under the Command of Sir *John Oldcastle*, who were to rendezvous on a certain Night in *St. Giles's-Fields*, That their Design was in the first Place to destroy the Abby of *Westminster*, *St. Paul's*, the Abby of *St. Albans*, and all Religious Houses, and compel his Highness at least to concur with them in the Alteration of Religion.

All the Foundation for which Plot was no more than this, the *Lollards*, it seems, that they might not be disturb'd in their Religious Worship, assembled frequently in Woods and unfrequented Places in the Night time; and those who liv'd in and about *London* particularly, us'd to meet in *St. Giles's-Fields*, then over-run with Wood and Bushes. The King being inform'd that the Conspirators were to assemble at *St. Giles's* on a certain Night, came thither with a good Body of Troops, and found about fourscore People there in Arms. Whereupon making no Doubt

A.D. 1413

A. 1 H. 5.

The Persecution of the *Lollards* reviv'd.The King surprizes them in *St. Giles's-Fields*.

*A.D. 1414* Doubt of the Truth of the Conspiracy, he order'd his Troops to fall upon them, twenty of the *Lollards* were kill'd, and the rest made Prisoners. The most considerable Men amongst them were Sir *Roger Aston*, Knight, and *John Beverly* their Preacher; but Sir *John Oldcastle* could not be found, tho' a Reward of a thousand Pound was set upon his Head; nor did it appear there were any more than these Fourscore, that intended to have rendezvous'd at *St. Giles's*, but some of the Prisoners, suppos'd to be influenc'd by Bribes or Threats, declaring their Design was to kill the King, subvert the Government, and make Sir *John Oldcastle* Regent of the Kingdom, thirty-seven of the Prisoners were tried and convicted of High-Treason, of whom seven were burnt alive, and among these Sir *Roger Aston*, *Beverly* the Preacher, and one *Morley* a *Maltster*. Their being in Arms was look'd upon as a strong Circumstance to prove their seditious Intentions, and I find their Friends admit that they had Arms with them, which they insinuate, was only to defend them against the Insults of the Mob. However there is no Doubt that this, and the Confessions of some of the Prisoners, went a great way in confirming the King, as well as others, in the Belief of the Plot, and occasion'd the Persecution to be renew'd with greater Violence than ever.

Sir *Roger Aston* and six other *Lollards* burnt.

*Chicheley* made Arch bishop of *Canterbury*

A little after these Executions, viz. in *February*, 1414, the *Lollards* great Enemy, *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* died, and was succeeded by *Henry Chicheley*, Bishop of *St. David's*, a Prelate no less zealous to extirpate that Sect. In the next Parliament, which met in *April* at *Leicester*,



cester, the Plot of the *Lollards* to destroy the King and subvert the Government, prov'd by the pretended Insurrection and the Confessions of the Conspirators, was display'd with abundance of aggravating Circumstances, and the dismal Consequences which must have attended that Conspiracy if it had succeeded, whereby the House of Commons were induc'd to pass another severe Act against that People. In this Act the Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, Judges, Justices of the Peace, and all inferior Officers are requir'd to take an Oath to use their utmost Diligence to destroy and extirpate all manner of Heresies call'd *Lollardies*; and that all Persons convicted of Heresy, and deliver'd over to the Secular Power, should forfeit their Lands of Inheritance, together with their Goods and Chattels; but however the Commons were drawn in to pass this Act against the *Lollards*, they were not yet reconcil'd to the Clergy, but renew'd their Petition for seizing on their Revenues for supporting the Exigencies of the Government, and tho' the Clergy had Interest enough in the Upper-House and at Court, to prevent their own Lands being alienated, they found themselves under a Necessity of concurring with the Parliament, in giving the King the Inheritance of the Lands belonging to the Priors Alien, which he had already seiz'd, in order to renew the War with the *French*, who in a late Treaty had absolutely refus'd to deliver up the Provinces that were yielded to *England* by the Treaty of *Bretigny*. In this Parliament also, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as well to divert the People from their Project of lessening the Revenues of the Clergy, as to procure a Supply suitable to such

A.D. 1414

A. 2 H. 5.

Another  
severe Act  
against the  
*Lollards*.

An Address  
for  
confisca-  
ting the  
Revenues  
of the  
Clergy.  
The Lands  
of the Pri-  
ors Aliens  
given to  
the Crown.

*A.D.* 1414 such an Enterprize as the Invasion of *France*,  
*A. 2 H. 5.* set forth, in a long labour'd Speech, the In-  
 justice of the *French*, in seizing and detaining  
*Normandy*, and the other *English* Provinces,  
 to which they never had any Pretence of  
 Right; and insisted also, that since they had  
 violated the Treaty of *Bretigny*, the King was  
 entitled to the whole Realm of *France*, and  
 declar'd, that the Clergy would give the  
 greatest Supply they had ever rais'd, to enable  
 his Highness to recover his just Rights. Which  
 had such an Effect on the Commons, that  
 they granted two Tenths and two Fifteenths  
 towards the Charges of the *French* War.

The War  
 with *France*  
 encourag'd  
 by the Par-  
 liament.

In this Parliament the King restor'd *Henry Percy*, Son of the famous *Hotspur*, his Grand-  
 father's Estate and Honours, particularly the  
 Earldom of *Northumberland*.

An Em-  
 bassy sent  
 to *France*  
 to demand  
 that Crown

The King being now assur'd of a sufficient  
 Fund for this great Undertaking, sent a so-  
 lemn Embassy to *France*, to demand that  
 Crown, or at least the Provinces granted by  
 the Treaty of *Bretigne*, and the Princess *Ka-  
 therine*, the *French* King's Daughter, in Mar-  
 riage. But the Dauphin, who had then the  
 Administration of Affairs, treated the Pro-  
 posal with the utmost Contempt, and instead  
 of a serious Answer, sent back a Tun of Ten-  
 nis-Balls, as much fitter to entertain the  
 youthful Monarch, than a War of that Con-  
 sequence. Whereupon, it is reported, that  
 King *Henry* said, He would return his Pre-  
 sent in such Balls as the Gates of *Paris* should  
 not be able to resist. However, certain it is,  
 he immediately began to levy Forces, and  
 make such Preparations as plainly demon-  
 strated he was in earnest. Whereupon the  
*French* having thought more seriously of the  
 matter

*A.D.* 1415

*A. 3 H. 5.*

matter, sent over the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and eleven other Ambassadors, to endeavour to divert *Henry* from his Design, by promising him the Princess *Katherine*, and to yield up part of the Provinces demanded; but when they found that *Henry* would be satisfied with nothing less than what was relinquish'd by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and a Portion of two millions of Crowns with the Princess, the Archbishop, 'tis said, lost all Temper, and reproach'd the King to his Face, for his Usurpation of *England*; telling him, that he was so far from having a Right to *France*, that he had not indeed any manner of Right to this Kingdom; and left his Presence abruptly.

A.D. 1415

A. 3 H. 5.

The French Ambassador's Insolence.

The Ambassadors were no sooner gone, but the King set out for *Southampton*, where he had appointed the Rendezvous of his Troops, and being ready to embark on the last of *July*, a Plot was discover'd against him; wherein the Earl of *Cambridge* Brother to the Duke of *York*, *Henry Scroop* Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Thomas Grey* a Privy-Counsellor, were the principal Conspirators. They had, 'tis said, been brib'd by the Court of *France* with a million of Gold Crowns, to make a Diversion in their Favour; and they design'd, it seems, as soon as the King was gone beyond Sea, to have found some Man to have personated King *Richard*, and by giving out that he was alive, to have rais'd an Insurrection. If this would not have taken, they were to have asserted the Right of *Edmund* Earl of *March* to the Crown, and carried him with them into *Wales* in order to raise Forces to support his Claim. But having acquainted the Earl of *March* with their Design, and given him some time to consider

The King prepares to invade *France*.

A Plot was discover'd and defeated.

*A.D.* 1415 of the Attempt, the Earl either doubting the Success of the Enterprize, or having no great Share of Ambition, went immediately to King *Henry* and discover'd the Plot. Whereupon the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Thomas Grey* were tried and convicted of High-Treason. The first and the last, however, had the Honour of being beheaded; and *Scroop* was drawn hang'd and quarter'd as a common Offender; possibly the King resented his Treachery most, because he had shewn him the greatest Favour, by conferring on him the Post of Lord High Treasurer.

The King  
embarks  
with his  
Army.

Lands in  
*Normandy*.

*Harfleur*  
taken.

This Conspiracy did not alter the King's Measures; he only deferr'd the Embarkation about a Fortnight, and then set Sail for *France* with a Fleet of fifteen hundred Transports, on board of which was a Land Army of thirty thousand Men, viz. six thousand Men at Arms and twenty four thousand Archers, with which he landed at *Havre de Grace* near the Mouth of the *Seyne* on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *August*, from whence he march'd and laid Siege to *Harfleur*, about nine Miles distant from the Place of his Landing; and tho' the Town was strong and defended by a good Garrison, I find it surrender'd within three Weeks; for in *Rymer's* Acts of State there is the Copy of a Challenge sent by the King to the Dauphin, offering to decide the Quarrel between the two Nations by single Combat, which was dated in the Town of *Harfleur*, the sixteenth of *September*; and indeed few Towns were able to hold out a longer Siege when great Guns were first us'd; the high Stone Towers and other Defences in those antique Fortifications were soon demolish'd by a Battery of great Guns.

*Henry*



*Henry* the 4th at the Siege of *Berwick* had but one great Gun, and yet the Garrison was forc'd to yield in a few Days ; but tho' battering Pieces were then us'd in the Siege of Towns, neither Field Pieces or small Arms were seen in any Battel for some time afterwards, either in *France* or *England*.

A.D. 1415

A. 3 H. 5.

The Garrison of *Harfleur* having surrender'd upon no better Terms than the being permitted to march away without their Arms ; the King sent away all the Rest of the Inhabitants, and repeopled the Town with *English* ; and having continu'd a little while in the Place to see the Fortifications repair'd, he march'd from thence towards *Calais*, tho' his Army at that time was so diminish'd by the Flux and other Distempers, that it did not amount to ten thousand Men, according to some Writers ; but there are very strong Presumptions to induce us to believe that the *English* Troops were not lessen'd to such a degree ; for first, they had not been above six Weeks out of *England*, of which they had not lain three Weeks in the Field ; and secondly, King *Henry* must have been the most rash and imprudent General that ever had the Command of an Army, if he had attempted to march 200 Miles through an Enemies Country, when he knew there were an hundred thousand Men and upwards assembled to oppose him, if his Army was really reduc'd to ten thousand Men, and those extremely weak, and unfit for Fatigue, as the same Writers represent ; especially when he might have embark'd his Army either for *England* or *Calais*, without running any Hazard. I cannot believe therefore that the *English* Army was in reality reduc'd to twenty thousand Men, especially when I consider the Victory they obtain'd over the whole Power

*Harfleur*  
made an  
*English* Colony.

The Army  
diminish'd  
by the Flux  
marches  
towards  
*Calais*.

A.D. 1415

A. 3. H. 5.



The Eng-  
lish Army  
pass the  
Somme.

of *France* but a very little afterwards: But whatever were the Numbers of the *English* Forces, they continu'd their March with very little Opposition 'till they came to the River *Somme*, where they found all the Bridges broken down, and every fordable Place so strongly fortified that it was very hazardous to attempt the Passage, especially in the Face of an Army at least six times their Number. And indeed the *French* Writers affirm, that if their Generals had not withdrawn their Troops from some of the Fords, on purpose to let the *English* come over, they cou'd never have pass'd that River; and the Reason they suffer'd the *English* Army to pass the River *Somme* was, that their Retreat might be cut off from *Harfleur*, and that being hemm'd in on one side by the River, and on the other by their numerous Troops, none of the *English* Forces might escape. The *English* Writers on the other Hand assure us that their Countrymen forc'd their Way over the *Somme* notwithstanding all the Efforts the Enemy cou'd make to prevent it. However all agree that the River *Somme* was pass'd by the *English* between *St. Quintin* and *Peronne*, not a great Way from the Source, and that the *French* Army afterwards posted themselves in a narrow Passage in the Way to *Calais*, through which it was necessary for *Henry* to march. The *French* add, that finding himself thus enclos'd between the *Somme* and their Army, and destitute of Provisions, he offer'd to deliver up *Harfleur*, and be at the Charges of the War, if they wou'd give him leave to continue his March; but this Proposal being rejected, both sides prepared for the Encounter.

The

The *French* had posted their Army in such a Place as has been observ'd already that it was impossible for the *English* to slip by them; but then it was so narrow that they cou'd make little Advantage of their Numbers. The Case was much the same here as at the Battel of *Cressy*; the *English* made as large a Front as the Enemy, and their Flanks were defended by a Wood and a River, that they could not be surrounded. In short the Constable of *France*, *D' Albret*, who commanded their Army, being confident of Victory on any Ground whatever, had pitch'd upon such a Place for the Engagement, as the *English* Generals themselves wou'd have chosen if the Matter had been left to them.

A.D. 1415

A. 3 H. 5.

The *French*  
post them-  
selves in the  
Way to  
*Calais*.

The Constable drew up his Army in three Lines; the first of which was led by himself, the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Bourbon*, and several other great Lords, who desir'd to be posted in the Front on an Assurance that this Body alone was abundantly sufficient to render them victorious; and that the other two Lines wou'd have had no other Business in the Field than to be Spectators of the Action; the second Line was led by the Dukes of *Alençon* and *Barr*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Nevers*, &c. and the third by the Earls of *Marle* and *Dampmartin*. On the other hand, the King of *England* drew up his little Army in two Lines, the first of which was commanded by the Duke of *York*, assisted by the Lords *Willoughby* and *Beaumont*, and the second by the King in Person, who observing a Wood on his left, which the Enemy had not possess'd, order'd four hundred Spears to lie there in Ambuscade, and sent two hundred Archers to a low Meadow on his left, that was cover'd with Bushes, where

The Battel  
of *Agencourt*.

*A.D.* 1415 where they lay also undiscover'd, and having thus posted himself to the best Advantage, he expected that the *French* wou'd have attack'd him, but finding they did not move forwards, and that there was a Necessity for him to break thorough the *French* if ever he hop'd to reach *Calais*, he order'd the Archers to remove the Stakes that were planted before them to keep off the Horse, and advance towards the Enemy, which they did 'till they came so near that their Bows wou'd reach them, and then having plac'd their Stakes or *Chevaux de frize*, behind them, they saluted the *French* with a Shower of Arrows, which did very great Execution; whereupon a Body of *French* Horse was detach'd from their Army to charge the Archers, who coming on with great Fury, the *English* retir'd behind their Stakes, and the Enemy's Horse falling upon them, were kill'd or miserably wounded; the Ground also being a Morass, into which the Horses sunk deep, contributed pretty much to their Disorder. The first Line of the *French* advancing to support their Vanguard, were not only attack'd by the *English* in Front but on both Flanks, by the Troops which were plac'd in Ambuscade on the right and left, which drove them into the Centre upon one another, and put them into the utmost Confusion; insomuch that the Constable not being able to rally them, they took to their Heels and fled, except some few who remain'd about their General, and chose rather to die with him than to turn their Backs. The first Line of the *French* being thus broke, the Duke of *York* march'd to attack the second; but the King chusing to engage that Body in Person, advanc'd through the Intervals of his

The *English* attack the *French*.

first



first Line, and ordering his Men at Arms to *A.D.* 1415  
dismount; charg'd the Duke of *Alençon's*  
Troops on foot, in which his personal Cou- *A. 3 H. 5.*  
rage as well as Conduct appear'd very extraor-  
dinary; for the Duke of *Alençon* 'tis said had  
given Directions to eighteen of the bravest  
Knights in his Army to attack only the King  
of *England*, and destroy him if it was possi-  
ble: These having made their Way to that  
Part of the Army where the King fought, one  
of them struck him such a Blow on his Helmet  
that it almost stunn'd him; but he defended  
himself bravely 'till some *English* Knights  
came to his Rescue, and cut in Pieces every one  
of the eighteen, but not without some Loss  
and Hazard to the King's Person; for here the  
brave *David Gam* and two other *Welsh* Offi-  
cers, observing the King's Danger, threw them-  
selves between his Highness and the Assassins,  
and every one of them lost their Lives in de-  
fending their Master's; after which the Duke of  
*Alençon* engag'd the King hand to hand, and  
with his Battel-Ax cleft the Crest of his Hel-  
met, being a golden Crown; but the King after-  
wards knock'd down the Duke, and kill'd two  
Knights that defended him; he wou'd have sav'd  
the Duke of *Alençon's* Life 'tis said, but the Fu-  
ry of the Officers about him was such, when  
they saw the Danger his Highness was in, that  
they gave no Quarter. And now *Alençon* being  
dead, the Body he commanded soon fell into  
Confusion, and so disorder'd and terrify'd the  
the third Line in their Retreat, that they did  
not so much as stand a Charge; whereupon  
great Numbers of the Enemy were kill'd and  
taken Prisoners. The Croud and the Con-  
sternation was so great that they hinder'd one  
another's Flight. In the mean while News  
was

The King's  
Danger.

The French  
defeated.

*A.D.* 1415 was brought that a Body of the Enemy had fallen upon the King's Camp, and plunder'd his Baggage; and his Highness expecting to be attack'd on that side, order'd most of the Prisoners to be kill'd lest they should join the Enemy, which made this Battel exceeding bloody. It appear'd afterwards that the People who plunder'd the Camp were some *Burgundians* who fled at the beginning of the Battel; and observing the Camp was but slenderly guarded, fell to plundering it, while their Friends were engag'd with the *English*. They carried off the King's Crown and his Sword, set with Diamonds, with many other valuable things; but understanding the King was marching to attack them, they retir'd out of his reach.

The *English* Camp plunder'd.  
The Prisoners kill'd.

Numbers of the slain.

This Battel lasted from nine in the Morning till five in the Afternoon; and on the side of the *French* were kill'd the Constable *D'Albret* their General; the Duke of *Alençon*, a Prince of the Blood; the Duke of *Brabant* and the Earl of *Nevers*, Brothers to the Duke of *Burgundy*; the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Marle*, and many other Noblemen and Persons of Distinction. There are some Writers who relate, that besides the Archbishop of *Sens* there were kill'd in this Action three Dukes, six Earls, ninety Barons, fifteen hundred Knights, and seven thousand Esquires and Gentlemen, besides ten thousand common Soldiers. The Chief of the Prisoners were, the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*; the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendôme*, *Richmont*, *Etoutville*, and Marshal *Boucecaut*. And on the side of the *English* were kill'd, the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and twelve or fifteen hundred more. Some indeed relate that there were not more than

than four or five Knights, and thirty or forty *A.D. 1415*  
 common Soldiers kill'd on the side of the *A. 3 H. 5.*  
*English*. But this must be a Mistake, the En-  
 gagement appears to have been too obstinate,  
 and of too long a Duration, to give any Credit  
 to such a Relation. This Fight obtain'd the  
 Name of the Battel of *Agincourt*, or *Azin-*  
*court*, from a Castle in the County of *St. Paul*,  
 near which it was fought. The King conti-  
 nu'd his March the next Day towards *Calais*, *The King arrives at*  
 where, having staid till the middle of *Novem-*  
*ber*, he embark'd for *England*, and in this  
 short Voyage met with a Storm, in which he  
 was almost in as much Danger as in the late  
 Battel, but landed however safely at *Dover*  
 on the 16th of *November*. The *French* have  
 very little Reason to say that the Success of  
 the *English* in this Enterprize was owing to  
 their Divisions; for it appears that the Facti-  
 ons of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* were united to  
 oppose King *Henry*. We find two of the  
 Duke of *Burgundy's* Brothers kill'd in the  
 Battel, and the Duke's own Troops plunder-  
 ing the King's Camp; so that his Forces were  
 in the Engagement, tho' he was absent him-  
 self. We find the Duke also, after that Battel,  
 challenging the King to a single Combat for  
 killing his Prisoners in cold Blood. To  
 which the King answer'd, that the Duke's  
 Troops were the Occasion of it, who had  
 plunder'd his Camp, and gave him Reason to  
 apprehend he should be attack'd again.

The Dauphin of *France* dying the 24th of *The Dau-*  
*December*, either by Poyson or, as others say, *phin dies*  
 out of Grief for the Miseries of his native  
 Country, *John* his Brother became Dauphin,  
 who was altogether govern'd by the Earl of  
*Armagnac* the present Constable, who had got  
 VOL. XVIII P the



A.D. 1415 the King into his Power, and possess'd himself of the City of *Paris*. He was a mortal Enemy to the Duke of *Burgundy*.

A. 3 H. 5.

The King of *England*, soon after his Arrival at *London*, order'd a Thanksgiving for the Success of the Campaign, and commanded the Obsequies of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Suffolk*, who fell in the Battel of *Agincourt*, to be celebrated with all imaginable Magnificence. The Duke of *York* was buried in the Collegiate Church of *Fotheringay* in *Northamptonshire*, and having no Issue, was succeeded in Honour and Estate by *Richard* his Nephew, Son to the Earl of *Cambridge*, who was beheaded for the Conspiracy against King *Henry* just before he embark'd for *France*.

The Duke of *York* succeeded by his Nephew *Richard*, Son of the Earl of *Cambridge*.

A.D. 1416

A. 3 H. 5.

Factions in the Court of *France*.

Notwithstanding the Success of the *English* Arms in *France*, it does not appear that King *Henry* made any Preparations to continue the War the following Year, either he found his Subjects backward in raising the necessary Supplies, or he foresaw he might play a surer Game by joining one of the Factions in that Kingdom, of which there were now no less than three, and each of them courted his Assistance to subdue their respective Adversaries, not at all considering the Mischiefs they were like to bring upon their native Country by introducing an *English* Army into the Kingdom. The King treated with all the three Parties, but at last espous'd that of the Duke of *Burgundy*, as will appear hereafter.

The Emperor mediates a Peace.

In the mean time *Sigismund* the Emperor arriv'd at *Paris* with a Train of eight hundred Horse, declaring he came to mediate a Peace between the two Crowns; and as a Step towards it, propos'd a Truce to *Armagnac* the Con-



Constable, which he refusing to hearken to, the Emperor left that City and continu'd his Journey to *Calais*, whither King *Henry* sent thirty Ships to convoy him to *England* with all his Retinue, and he arriv'd at *Dover* the 29th of *April*; a little before which *John* the Dauphin of *France* died, suspected also to be poyson'd. After whom his Brother *Charles*, a Youth of about fourteen Years of Age, succeeded to the Honour of Dauphin, and was guided in all things by the Earl of *Armagnac* the Constable, who continu'd to persecute the Adherents of the Duke of *Burgundy* with the utmost Fury at *Paris*, which was one great Inducement to his throwing himself into the Arms of the *English*, as we find he did not long afterwards.

A.D. 141<sup>6</sup>

A. 3 H. 5

Comes to  
*England*.

Another  
Dauphin  
dies.

*Charles*  
succeeds  
him.

While the Emperor was endeavouring to accommodate Matters between *France* and *England*, the Constable of *France* laid Siege to *Harfleur*, which was invested about the beginning of *June*. This put an entire stop to the Negotiations between the two Kingdoms, and occasion'd an Alliance between the Emperor and *England*; whereby the Emperor stipulated to assist King *Henry* in the Recovery of the Kingdom of *France*, and *Henry* engag'd to oblige the *French* King to do the Emperor Homage for certain Provinces that were held of the Empire, by which are suppos'd to be intended the Kingdom of *Arles* and *Dauphine*.

*Harfleur*  
besieg'd.

Alliance  
between  
the Em-  
peror and  
*England*.

In the mean time *Harfleur* was bravely defended by the Earl of *Dorset* the Governor; tho' the Harbour was block'd up by a great Fleet, consisting of *Genoese*, *Spaniards*, and several other Nations, as well as *French*, and could receive no Supplies or Reinforcements

*A.D.* 1416 from Sea. Whereupon King *Henry* assembled the Royal Navy, determining to attempt the Relief of *Harfleur* in Person, but was dissuaded from it by the Emperor, and the Command of the Fleet was given to the Duke of *Bedford* the King's Brother, who attack'd the *French* and their Confederates before the Harbour of *Harfleur* the latter end of *July*, and sunk and destroy'd most of their Ships, and afterwards threw Relief into the Town; whereupon the Constable thought fit to raise the Siege and return to *Paris*.

The Siege  
of *Harfleur*  
rais'd.

An Alli-  
between  
the Duke  
of *Burgundy*  
and King  
*Henry*.

The Emperor having taken leave of the Court of *England* in *August*, went over to *Calais*, whither he was follow'd about a Month afterwards by the King of *England*; and hither also came the Duke of *Burgundy*, probably to concert Measures with the King and the Emperor for the next Campaign; for it appears that the Duke of *Burgundy* at this time enter'd into an Alliance with the King of *England*, whereby the Duke promises to assist *Henry* in the Recovery of *France*, and to do him Homage for the Territories he held of that Crown; and this Treaty was also sign'd by the Earl of *Charelois*, Son to the Duke of *Burgundy*. The King having thus strengthened himself by Alliances with the Emperor and the Duke of *Burgundy*, return'd to *England* and assembled the Parliament, in order to procure Supplies against the next Campaign, when he propos'd to make another Descent in *France*.

A Parliament had been held in *March* this Year; but the Commons granting the King no Supplies then, this was probably one Reason why no Attempts were made for the Recovery of the *English* Provinces in *France* in the

the Year 1416. At the Parliament holden *A.D. 1416*  
 the 19th of *October*, after the King's Return *A. 3 & 4 H. 5*  
 from *Calais*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord  
 Chancellor, by the King's Direction, acquainted the Houses that great Endeavours  
 had been made to obtain an honourable Peace with *France*, but all reasonable Terms were  
 rejected; and that his Highness desir'd the Proceedings in the  
 Advice of the Parliament on the present Parliament of  
 Posture of Affairs. Whereupon the Commons *England.*  
 granted two Tenths and two Fifteenths to be  
 levy'd on the Laity; and 'tis presum'd the  
 Clergy, who were fast Friends to this Prince,  
 gave still greater Aids in Proportion, as they  
 usually did in all Reigns. The Commons  
 also added a borrowing Clause to their Bill of  
 Supply, declaring that whoever advanc'd  
 Money for the King's Use should be repaid  
 out of the first Money rais'd on the Subsidies  
 they had given; after which the Alliance  
 made with the Emperor was confirm'd by  
 Parliament.

Supplies  
 given with  
 a borrow-  
 ing Clause.

Altho' it appears that the Supplies granted  
 by this Parliament were very considerable,  
 yet the King resolving to push his Conquests  
 in *France* with the utmost Vigour, pawn'd  
 even his Crown to his Uncle the Bishop of  
*Winchester*, and his Jewels to the City of *Lon-*  
*don*, for ten thousand Marks. He enter'd in-  
 to private Contracts also with the Nobility and  
 Gentry to furnish him with a certain Number  
 of Troops by the Year, to whom he paid the  
 first Quarters Wages down, and pawn'd his  
 Jewels to them for the remainder, which sav'd  
 him a pretty deal of ready Money towards his  
 present Enterprize. But as for my Friend  
*Rapin's* Remark, that *the Reason the People so*  
*readily lent this King Money was, the Opinion*  
*they*

The King  
 pawns his  
 Crown and  
 Jewels.



*A.D. 1416* they had of his Honesty, and that they would not  
*A.3&4H5* so readily have trusted another Prince, there  
 seems to be very little in it, because the Parliament had engag'd to see the Lenders paid out of the first Money that was rais'd by the Supplies they had given. But notwithstanding the King took all imaginable ways to heap up Money for the great Enterprize he was engag'd in, he appear'd extremely liberal to his Officers who had behav'd well, particularly to the Earl of *Dorset*, who had so bravely defended *Harfleur*; for having created him Duke of *Exeter* in this Parliament, he granted him an annual Pension of a thousand Pounds out of the *Exchequer*, and forty Pounds *per Annum* more out of the Customs of *Exeter*, which the two Houses highly approv'd of.

The Earl  
of *Dorset*  
created  
Duke of  
*Exeter*,

*A.D. 1417* It was late in the following Summer, (*viz.*)  
*A.4&5H5* the 28th of *July*, before the King embark'd  
 for *France*, his Fleet consisting of fifteen hundred Sail, small and great, and his Land Forces amounted to five and twenty thousand Men and upwards, with which he landed at *Harfleur* the first of *August*, soon after he laid Siege to the Castle of *Tonque*, and became Master of it the ninth Instant, and having taken in several other Places, besieg'd the rich and populous Town of *Caen*, which refusing to surrender upon Summons, was taken by Storm the ninth of *September*. The King however did all that lay in his Power to prevent the Slaughter of the Inhabitants, looking upon them as his Subjects; he issu'd his Declarations also, assuring the People, that if they submitted, he would take them and their Effects into his Protection, which induc'd several Places to surrender without being attack'd, for the Government of *France*

*Caen* taken  
by Storm.

was



was not in a Condition to defend their Subjects against the *English* at this Time. The Duke of *Burgundy* had march'd up to the Gates of *Paris*, when *Henry* enter'd upon this Expedition, and it was as much as the Constable could do to maintain that City against him, especially now *Isabella* Queen of *France* had assum'd the Regency, and acted in concert with the Duke against the *Armagnacs*. For the Queen having oppos'd the Constable's Measures, while she remain'd in *Paris*, he had, with the Concurrence of the Dauphin her Son, banish'd her to *Tours*, where she remain'd a Prisoner, till she was rescu'd from her Confinement by the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom she join'd when she was at Liberty, and assum'd the Regency, acting with all imaginable Violence against her Son the Dauphin, and the Constable, who had banish'd her and seiz'd her Jewels.

A.D. 1417

4 &amp; 5 H. 5.

The Duke of *Burgundy* marches against *Paris*.

Rescues the Queen, who assumes the Regency.

King *Henry* finding all the Power of *France* engag'd, either on the side of the Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy*, or of the Constable and Dauphin, determin'd to take Advantage of their Divisions, and make a Winter Campaign of it. Accordingly he went on taking Towns without Interruption, *Bayeux*, *Argentan*, *Chateau de L'Angle*, *Alençon*, and many other Places surrender'd to him; and sitting down before the important Town of *Falaise* the first of *December*, he became Master of it the twentieth, tho' the Castle held out till *February*.

*Falaise* and other Places taken by King *Henry*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Bedford* the King's Brother, Regent of *England*, having assembled a Parliament on the 16th of *November*, and laid before them the State of the War, the Commons granted a Tenth and Fifteenth.

Proceedings in the Parliament

A Supply granted.

*A.D.* 1417 Fifteenth. And Sir *John Oldcastle*, who had lately been apprehended in *Wales*, was brought before the Parliament, where his Outlawry for High-Treason, and his Excommunication as an Heretick were read: To which, 'tis said, Sir *John* offering nothing by way of Excuse or Mitigation of his Offence, was adjudg'd to be drawn from the Tower to the New Gallows at *St. Giles's*, and there hang'd as a Traytor, and burnt as an Heretick; but it does not appear that he was hung up by the Middle in an Iron Chain and burnt alive, as some Writers have asserted. The Treason he was charg'd with in the Indictment, was his assembling with others at *St. Giles's*, with an Intent to kill the King, &c. And a Motion, it seems, was made in Parliament, that the Lord *Powis* might receive the Thanks of the Houses, and be rewarded for his great Service in apprehending Sir *John Oldcastle*, pursuant to the Proclamation that had been issu'd, offering a Reward of a thousand Pound to any Person that should take him.

*A.D.* 1418 But to return to the War in *Normandy*, the Castle of *Falais* being surrender'd, King *Henry* divided his Army into several Bodies, which were commanded by the Duke of *Clarence*, the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, who soon reduc'd all the Towns in that Province, except *Cherburgh* and *Rouen*, the first of which the *English* invested the latter end of *May*. During this Siege Pope *Martin V.* (who was elected by the Council of *Constance*, after the deposing the three Popes who were at once Competitors for the Chair) sent two Legates into *France*, to endeavour to reconcile the two Factions, and it was once agreed, that the Duke

4 & 5 H. 5.  
Sir *John*  
*Oldcastle*  
burnt.

*A.D.* 1418

5 & 6 H. 5.

Most of  
*Normandy*  
subdu'd.

Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin should A.D. 1418  
 jointly govern the Kingdom, during the In-  
 disposition of the King; but the Constable 5 & 6 H. 5.  
*Armagnac* found means to break off the Trea-  
 ty, being resolv'd never to submit to the  
 Duke of *Burgundy's* Administration. This  
 made the Constable hated by the People, and  
 mightily encreas'd the *Burgundian* Interest;  
 insomuch that the *Parisians* admitted the  
 Duke of *Burgundy's* Troops into that City,  
 and the Constable, and several Thousand of The Con-  
 that Party were massacred, the Dauphin be- stable kill'd  
 ing compell'd to fly from thence. Where-  
 upon the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Queen The Duke  
 return'd in Triumph to *Paris*, and having of Burgun-  
 the King in their Power, took upon them the dy and the  
 Administration of the Government. And Queen  
 now the Duke of *Burgundy*, 'tis said, desert- come to  
 ed King *Henry's* Interest, and became his Paris.  
 Enemy, at least in Appearance, for had the  
*Parisians* suspected him to be in the Interest  
 of *England*, they would never have contri-  
 buted to place him at the Head of Affairs.  
 But however that was, the young Earl of  
*Armagnac*, and the rest of the *Gascon* Lords,  
 having now no share in the Administration,  
 concluded a Truce with King *Henry*, which  
 gave him an Opportunity of drawing all his  
 Forces into *Normandy*, where he made him-  
 self Master of *Cherburg*, the latter end of Cherburg  
*August*, and invested *Rouen*, the Capital of taken.  
 the Province, immediately afterwards.

This Place being strongly fortify'd; and Rouen be-  
 defended by a numerous Garrison, besides the sieg'd.  
 Inhabitants, who could of themselves form a  
 considerable Army, the King chose to reduce  
 it by Famine. Whereupon he block'd up  
 the Mouth of the *Seine* with his Fleet, and

*A.D.* 1418 threw up Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, which he fortified with Redoubts, so that it was impossible any Supplies could be thrown into the Town. This soon occasioning a Scarcity of Provisions, twenty thousand useleſs Mouths were turn'd out, conſiſting chiefly of Old Men, Women, and Children; theſe the *Engliſh* drove back again to the Walls, where many of them periſh'd, and the Famine increas'd to that degree in the Town, that no leſs than fifty thousand periſh'd there.

*5 & 6 H. 5.*

The Duke of *Burgundy* receiving Advice of their Diſtreſs, march'd towards *Rouen* with a conſiderable Army, and made ſeveral Motions, as if he deſign'd to attack the *Engliſh* Camp, and attempt the Relief of the City, but retir'd at length without effecting any thing.

During this Siege, the Dauphin, who had taken upon him the Title of Regent ſince the Death of *Armagnac* the Conſtable, being much too weak for his Adverſary the Duke of *Burgundy*, applied himſelf to King *Henry*, and offer'd to enter into a Treaty with him, concerning *Henry's* Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *France*, but it came to nothing; in-aſmuch as the Dauphin was not then in a Condition to fulfil the Terms that ſhould be agreed on. King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* afterwards enter'd into a Treaty with *Henry* on the ſame Subject, in hopes by their large Offers to have prevail'd on him to have rais'd the Siege of *Rouen*, but *Henry* would not be diverted from his Deſign of becoming Maſter of that Capital. Accordingly having lain before it till the Inhabitants had conſum'd their Dogs and Horſes, and



even the Vermin of the Place, for want of *A.D. 1419*  
 other Food, they offer'd to Capitulate on the *6 & 7 H. 5.*  
 13th of *January*, but insisting on several ad-  
 vantagious Conditions, they were told that  
 no other Terms would be allow'd them now  
 they had held out to the last Extremity, than  
 that of surrendering to the King's Mercy,  
 which drove them almost to Despair. How-  
 ever upon a second Conference, the King did  
 agree, that if the Citizens would advance the  
 Sum of three hundred thousand Gold Crowns,  
 they should remain in the Possession of their  
 Estates and Effects, and enjoy all the Pri-  
 vileges their Ancestors ever enjoy'd under the  
 Kings of *England* or Dukes of *Normandy*,  
 before the Reign of *Philip de Valois*; where-  
 upon the Town was surrender'd on the 19th  
 of *January*, having been in the Hands of *Rouen sur-*  
 the *French* two hundred and fifteen Years. *renders.*  
 The next Day King *Henry* made his Trium-  
 phant Entry into that City, and tho' several  
 of the Garrison were left to his Mercy by the  
 Articles of Surrender, only *Alain Blanchart*,  
 a notorious Incendiary was executed. The  
 King kept his Court for sometime at *Rouen*,  
 wearing the Ducal Robes of *Normandy*; and  
 here he fix'd his Court of *Exchequer*, *Mint*,  
 and Chamber of *Accounts* for the Province.  
 And now *Picardy* lying open to the Incursions  
 of the *English*, the Duke of *Exeter* being de-  
 tach'd thither, made himself Master of *Mon-*  
*treuil*, and several other Towns in that Pro-  
 vince.

Whatever might be the Duke of *Burgun-*  
*dy's* Intentions hitherto, when he saw the  
 King of *England* Master of almost all *North*  
*France*, and in a fair way of subduing the rest,  
 he thought it high time to unite with the

✓ D. 1419 Dauphin, and prevent the entire Conquest of the Kingdom, from which he could propose to reap no Advantage. He employ'd his Agents therefore to propose a Treaty with the Dauphin, but that Prince had entertain'd such an Aversion to the Duke, that he would hearken to no Terms of Accommodation.

A Treaty between the Duke of *Burgundy* and *K. Henry* comes to nothing.

Whereupon the Duke, in order to let him understand his own Interest, enter'd into a personal Treaty with King *Henry*, at which the Queen of *France* and her beautiful Daughter were present. The Match between the King of *England* and that Princess, being one of the principal Preliminary Articles, the King, it seems, was captivated with the Lady's Beauty at first Sight, of which the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Queen propos'd to make great Advantages, till the King gave them to understand, that notwithstanding the regard he had for the Princess *Katherine*, he would abate nothing of his Pretensions. The Duke on the contrary, who had set this Treaty on Foot, chiefly to draw the Dauphin into his Measures, and never design'd to bring it to any Conclusion, if the Dauphin would unite his Forces with him against the *English*, having sufficiently alarm'd that Prince by this Stratagem, a Peace was concluded privately between the Duke and the Dauphin, and thereupon the Conferences with the *English* were broke off a little abruptly.

A Treaty concluded between the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy*.

King *Henry* finding that he had been overreach'd, and that now he had the Forces of the whole Kingdom of *France* to contend with, resolv'd to make his Enemies sensible of his Resentment, and to enlarge his Conquests before they had concerted Measures for their

their Defence. Accordingly he detach'd A.D. 1419  
 three thousand Men to *Pontoise* in the Night  
 time, who scal'd the Town and took it by A.6&7H.5  
 Surprize, and in it a very great Booty, the Pontoise  
*French* Court having resided there during the taken.  
 late Treaty, and their Baggage not remov'd  
 from thence before the Town was taken.

As *Pontois* lies but 18 or 20 Miles to the  
 Southward of *Paris*, the taking of it open'd  
 the *English* a Way to the very Gates of that  
 City; whereupon the King and Queen of  
*France*, with the Duke of *Burgundy*, thought  
 fit to remove from thence, and retire to *Troyes*  
 in *Champaigne*; and a very little while after,  
 the Duke of *Clarence* appear'd before *Paris*  
 with a great Detachment of the *English* Ar-  
 my, and put the whole Country round about  
 under Contribution. In the mean time the  
 Dauphin, who could not see with Patience,  
 the Influence the Duke of *Burgundy* had in  
 the Court of *France*, invited him to a Con-  
 ference on the Bridge of *Monterau*, where he  
 caus'd him to be assassinated. 'Tis said the  
 Dauphin had several of the Servants of the  
 late Duke of *Orleans* in his Retinue at this  
 time, and that it was one of these who first  
 struck the Duke over the Face with a Battel-  
 Ax. However, certain it is, he was basely  
 and treacherously murder'd here, and the more  
 unpitied, as he had caus'd the Duke of *Or-*  
*leans* to be assassinated in the Streets of *Paris*  
 twelve Years before.

The Duke  
 of *Burgun-*  
*dymurder'd*  
 by the  
 Dauphin.

The Queen however and the young Duke  
 of *Burgundy* were so incens'd at this Murder,  
 that they immediately resolv'd to enter into  
 an Alliance with the King of *England* against  
 the Dauphin, and to grant him any Terms  
 he should demand, in order to gratify their  
 Revenge,

A.D. 1419  
A. 6 & 7 H. 5  
 Revenge, and indeed the Queen was before sufficiently provok'd by her Son the Dauphin, who had not only consented to her Banishment from *Paris*, by the late Constable, and seiz'd her Jewels, but even charg'd her with Incontinency.

A Treaty  
 concluded  
 between  
*France* and  
*England*.

The preliminary Articles agreed on between *Henry* on one side, and the Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy* on the other, were in Substance as follows, That the King of *England* should marry the Princess *Katherine*; That King *Charles* and Queen *Isabella* should enjoy their Revenues and Titles for Life; That King *Henry* should succeed to the Crown after the Death of King *Charles*, and during his Life be Regent of the Kingdom: That the Nation should take an Oath to King *Henry* as Regent, and to the Succession of him and his Heirs, after *Charles's* Death.

*Henry* on the other hand stipulated, That one of his Brothers should marry a Daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy's*; That he would endeavour to bring the Dauphin, and the rest of the Murderers of the late Duke of *Burgundy* to Justice, and if any of them were made Prisoners, they should not be releas'd without the Duke's Consent; and that the King should assign the Duke and Dutcheßs of *Burgundy* twenty thousand Livres, per Ann. out of Lands in *France*. This Preliminary Treaty was sign'd in *January*, 1420, and a Truce was made till all other Matters should be adjusted, and the Articles drawn up in Form, which, it seems, took up above three Months, the Treaty at large not being sign'd till the 21<sup>st</sup> of *May*, and was call'd the Treaty of *Troye*, from the Town where it was negotiated.

A.D. 1420

A. 7 & 8 H. 5



tiated. The same Day the King espous'd the Princess *Katherine*, and the Marriage was consummated on the 2d of *June*. A.D. 1420  
A. 7 & 8 H. 5

In the Treaty at large, it is agreed that Queen *Katherine* should have for her Dowry, a Revenue of forty thousand Crowns *per Ann.* as former Queens of *England* usually had; And that if she surviv'd the King, she should also have twenty thousand Livres *per Ann.* more, out of the Crown Lands in *France*. K. Henry  
marries the  
Princess  
*Katherine*.

That the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Paris* should be preserv'd, as also the Rights and Privileges of the Nobility, Corporations, and of all other Subjects of *France*. That Justice should be administer'd according to the Laws and Customs of *France*, and all Posts Civil and Military fill'd with Persons duely qualify'd.

That upon the King of *England's* coming to the Crown of *France*, *Normandy*, and all his other Conquests, should be united to that Crown.

That all publick Acts should run in King *Charles's* Name while he liv'd, and that the King of *England* should not assume his Titles during his Life.

That when *Henry* should succeed to the Crown of *France*, the two Kingdoms of *France* and *England* should be united under one Prince, but govern'd by their respective Laws.

The rest of the Articles tend only to explain and enforce those in the Preliminaries already mentioned.

These Treaties being finish'd, the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* carried on the War against the Dauphin, who was still possess'd of several large Provinces, and resorted The War  
carried on  
against the  
Dauphin.

A.D. 1420

A. 7 &amp; 8 H. 5

The *Spaniards* and *Scots* assist the *Dauphin*.

King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy* take several Towns.

The King of *Scots* requires his Subjects to abandon the *French* Service.

to by great Numbers of the Nobility: The Pope also favour'd his Cause, as did the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, who not only sent their own Troops to his Assistance, but transported several thousands of *Scots* into *France*, who contributed more to the Support of the *Dauphin* by the Troops they sent him and the Diverſion they made in the North of *Edgland* than any other Power.

The first Place the King and Duke laid Siege to was *Sens*, which ſurrender'd within ten Days; then they inveſted *Montereau*, which held out but a little while; here the late Duke's Body being found, was ſent to *Dijon* the Capital of *Burgundy* to be interr'd, after which the Army inveſted *Meulan* on the *Seine*, which held out to the Middle of *November*, enduring a Siege of four Months; the young King of *Scots* being in the *English* Army at this Siege, and underſtanding that the Garrifon was compos'd partly of his Subjects, requir'd them to abandon the Place and ſerve under him; but they answer'd they would not acknowledge him for their King while he was in the Power of another, which occaſion'd the hanging up twenty of that Nation after the Town was taken.

The Siege of *Meulan* being over, the two Kings enter'd *Paris* in a triumphant Manner, *Henry* giving his Father in Law the Right Hand. The States General of the Kingdom aſſembled there on the ſixth of *December* in the Preſence of both Kings, when King *Charles* acquainted them he had made a Peace with *England*, which he was aſſur'd wou'd be of great Advantage to *France*, deſiring they wou'd ratify it by their Authoity, and accordingly

dingly the Treaty of *Troye* was confirm'd without one dissenting Voice by the States.

A.D. 1420

It was also enacted, that the whole Kingdom shou'd take the Oaths to King *Henry* requir'd by the Treaty.

A.7 & 8 H 5

The Treas-  
of *Troye* ra-  
tify'd by  
the States  
of *France*.

Soon after the Dauphin was summon'd before the Court of Peers to answer for the Murder of the late Duke of *Burgundy*, and not appearing at the Marble-Table, was adjudg'd guilty of that Murder; declar'd unworthy to succeed to the Crown, and banish'd the Realm for ever; from which Sentence, 'tis said, the Dauphin appealing to God and his Sword, still assum'd the Title of Regent, and requir'd both the Parliament and University of *Paris* to remove to *Poitiers*, whither he was follow'd by several of the Members of those Bodies.

The Dau-  
phin and  
the Mur-  
derers of  
the Duke  
of *Burgun-  
dy* convicted

The King of *England* having appointed his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* his Lieutenant in his Absence, and constituted the Duke of *Exeter* Governor of *Paris*, set out for *England*

A.D. 1421

A.8 & 9 H.5

with his Queen, and arriving there about the Middle of *February*, the Queen was crown'd in *Westminster-Abby* the 24th of the same Month; after which the King and Queen went down to *York*, and visited several other Parts

Queen *Ka-  
therine*  
Crown'd.

of *England*, returning to *London* a little before the assembling of the Parliament, which was appointed to meet on the 2d of *May*. In the mean time Advice was brought from *France*, that the Duke of *Clarence*, the King's Brother, was kill'd in a Rencontre with the *Scots*, who had lately been sent over to *France* to the Assistance of the Dauphin. The Duke, whom the King had left his Lieutenant in *France*, had assembled a Body of ten thousand Men, with which he propos'd to have reduc'd the Province of

Duke of  
*Clarence*  
kill'd by  
the *Scots* in  
the Dau-  
phin's Ser-  
vice.



A.D. 1421 *Anjou*; and receiving Intelligence in his March  
 thither, that the Earl of *Buchan* was sent to  
 oppose him with seven thousand *Scots*, and  
 that the Earl's Vanguard was separated a great  
 way from the Body he commanded, immediately march'd at the Head of his Cavalry to intercept them, leaving the Foot under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury* to follow him: but it seems he was deceiv'd in his Intelligence; for he had no sooner engag'd the first Troops of the *Scots*, but the Earl of *Buchan* appear'd to support them, and surrounding the *English*, kill'd the Duke of *Clarence* with several other Officers of Distinction, and made a great many more Prisoners. The Earl of *Salisbury* however coming up just after the Action was over, rescu'd the Body of the Duke of *Clarence* out of the Hands of the Enemy, and oblig'd them to retire.

And here it may be proper to give some Account how the *Scots* came to send Troops to the Assistance of the Dauphin, when they had continu'd quiet so long; to which I find it answer'd, that the Reason the *Scots* did not join the *French* sooner, was because there was a good Understanding between the Duke of *Albany*, Regent of *Scotland*, and King *Henry*; that the Regent in consideration that King *Henry* shou'd not permit the young King to return to *Scotland* and deprive him of the Regency, had engag'd that the *Scots* shou'd not make any Diversi-  
 on as usual while the King of *England* was engag'd in the *French* War: But that the Dauphin sending over the Duke of *Vendosme* to *Scotland* in the Year 1419, when his Affairs began to grow desperate, and making the *Scotish* Nobility large Offers if they wou'd  
 raise



raise a Body of Troops and join his Party in *France*; either the Regent had not Interest enough to prevent it, or he was induc'd to connive at this Levy by the advantageous Terms that were propos'd to him: And thereupon *Henry* enter'd into a Treaty with the young King of *Scots*, and agreed to give him his Liberty, and the Lady *Anne*, Daughter of his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, in Marriage, on Condition he shou'd recall his People out of the Dauphin's Service; which we find he afterwards did, when he attended King *Henry* to *France*; but his Subjects did not think fit to obey him; for the Earl of *Buchan* having given new Life to the Dauphin's Friends by the late Defeat of the Duke of *Clarence*, was made Constable of *France*, and the rest of the Officers of that Nation either rewarded or promis'd more advantageous Terms than they cou'd ever expect at home, which induc'd them to continue in the *French* Service, tho' they never fail'd to be hang'd up without Mercy whenever they happen'd to fall into King *Henry*'s Hands, as Rebels to their Sovereign, who had made an Alliance with *England*, and was actually in the *English* Army.

A.D. 1421

A. 8 &amp; 9 H. 5

A Treaty  
between  
King *Henry*  
and the  
King of  
*Scots*.

The Parliament of *England* meeting on the second of *May*, just after the News of the Duke of *Clarence*'s Defeat arriv'd, confirm'd the Peace of *Troye*; but a Petition being presented to them in behalf of the Nation, shewing that the People were beggar'd by the War with *France*, they did not think fit to give more than a Fifteenth this Year for the Support of the War, while the Clergy advanc'd a Tenth. They were of Opinion pro-

The Par-  
liament  
raise but  
slender  
Supplies.

A.D. 1421

A.8&amp;9H.5

~~~~~

The King  
pawns his  
Crown and  
Jewels  
again.

Raises ano-  
ther Army.

Dreux  
taken.

Meaux be-  
sieged.

Prince  
Henry born

bably, that Money enough might be rais'd out of the conquer'd Countries for the Support of the War, and if not, it were better that *France* shou'd remain unconquer'd, than their native Country be ruin'd in reducing it; whereupon the King found himself under a Necessity of pawning his Crown and Jewels once again, and having dismiss'd his Parliament, he assembled another Army of 28,000 Men, with which he embark'd for *France*, and landed at *Calais* the Tenth of *June*. Having reduc'd several Places in *Picardy*, which were possess'd by the *Dauphins*, he march'd towards *Paris*, which had been in a Manner block'd up during his Absence by the Dauphin, who found himself also in a Condition to lay Siege to *Chartres*, but upon the Approach of King *Henry*, he thought fit to abandon *Chartres* and retire to a greater Distance. The King afterwards took the Town of *Dreux*, but finding his Army weaken'd by the Flux, he order'd them into Quarters of Refreshment, and return'd to *Paris*. *Henry* took the Field again about *Michaelmas*, and on the 6th of *October* laid Siege to the City of *Meaux*; and while he lay before this Place, he reciev'd Advice that the Queen was brought to bed of a Son at *Windsor*, baptiz'd by the Name of *Henry* (afterwards *Henry VI*). In the mean time the Town of *Meaux* held out all Winter; the Place was strong and defended by a brave Garrison, and the Season of the Year by no means favourable to the *English*; however, the Besieg'd were at length reduc'd to Extremity, and oblig'd to capitulate the Beginning of *May*, when very hard Terms were put upon

upon them ; for the Army had not only suffer'd much by this Winter's Siege, and the Course of the King's Successes been interrupted by their Obstinacy, but the Garrison had been guilty of the most reproachful Language, and treated King Henry's Friends with the greatest Barbarity ; they had hang'd up all the *Burgundian* Party that came in their Way, and possibly their Despair of being pardon'd was one Reason they did not surrender sooner. The severest Articles in the Capitulation were, that neither the *English*, *Scots*, or *Irish* in Garrison shou'd have any Mercy shewn them, or any that were concern'd in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and that four of the principal Officers, of whom *the Governor the Bastard of Vaurus was one*, should suffer Death (and they were executed accordingly) *Vaurus* was hang'd upon a Tree near the Town, which from his hanging the *Burgundians* on it, had obtain'd the Name of *The Tree of Vaurus*.

A.D. 1422

A. 10 H. 5.

*Meaux* surrenders upon hard Terms.

Soon after the taking of *Meaux*, Queen *Katherine* and the Duke of *Bedford* came over to *France*, having left the Duke of *Gloucester* Guardian of *England*, and arriving at *Vincennes*, where the King and Queen of *France* kept their Court, the King of *England* met them, and both Courts remov'd to *Paris*, and kept the *Whitsun-Holydays* there. The *French* Writers on this Occasion lament their Subjection to the *English*, and tell us, that while all the World resorted to King Henry at the *Louvre*, *Charles* their King, who resided in the Palace of *St. Paul*, was almost deserted ; however, it appears that the two Kings with their Queens din'd together on *Whitsunday* with their Crowns on their Heads, and that the King and Queen of *England* in publick,



A.D. 1422

A. 10<sup>H</sup> 5.

King Hen-  
ry coins  
Money in  
Paris.

lick, always gave their Father the Repects due to a Parent and a Sovereign, tho' the Administration of Affairs, as had been agreed by the Treaty of *Troye*, was entirely in the Hands of the King of *England*, on Account of King *Charles's* Incapacity to govern even his own Actions at certain Times. About this Time King *Henry* order'd a new silver Coin to be struck at *Paris*, call'd a Salute, on which an Angel was represented saluting the Virgin *Mary*, having the Arms of *England* on one Hand, and the Arms of *France* in the other, with King *Henry's* Titles, and on the Reverse these Words, *Christus vincit, Christus regit, Christus imperat*, which the *French* look'd upon as another Mark of their Subjection, and pretended was a Breach of the Articles of *Troye*, which prohibited his doing any Regal Act in his own Name during King *Charles's* Life.

He is taken  
ill.

While *Henry* remain'd at *Paris*, the Dauphin had taken the Field again, made himself Master of *La Charite* on the *Loyre*, and laid Siege to *Cosne*, which had agreed to surrender to him if not reliev'd by the 18th of *August*. Whereupon the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* assembled their respective Armies, and were advancing towards the Dauphin, when *Henry* was taken ill of the Flux; whereupon he order'd the Duke of *Bedford* to take upon him the Command of the *English* Troops, and join the Duke of *Burgundy*; but the Dauphin rais'd the Siege of *Cosne* on their Approach, keeping to his old Rule of never hazarding a Battel but where he had an apparent Advantage. In the mean time K. *Henry* lay dangerously ill at *Vincennes*, of which the Duke of *Bedford* receiving Advice, left the Army

and



and hasten'd thither, coming just time enough to hear the Instructions the King gave his Ministers and Generals in his last Moments. He said he should have been under no Concern at the Approach of Death, if he had not left his Son, an Infant, incapable of prosecuting his Conquests, or of holding the Reins of Government. He hop'd they would all remain firmly united in his Service, and let him have an Education suitable to a Prince that was Heir to such extensive Dominions. That they should endeavour to preserve the Friendship of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and not release the Prisoners taken at *Agincourt* till the Prince was at Age. And if it should at any time be thought proper to make Peace with *France*, they should insist on the Sovereignty of *Normandy*. And lastly, he order'd the Duke of *Bedford* to take upon him the Administration of the Government of *France*, and the Duke of *Gloucester* to preside in *England* during the Duke of *Bedford's* Absence. After which, having perform'd such Offices as were requir'd of dying Persons in those times, he expir'd on the thirty-first of *August*, in the thirty-fourth Year of his Age, and tenth of his Reign.

A.D. 1422

A. 10 H. 5.

His last  
CommandsKing Henry  
dies.

His Body was afterwards embalm'd and carry'd in great Funeral Pomp thro' *France* to *Calais*; and from thence being sent over to *England*, was interr'd in *Westminster-Abbey*, *James King of Scots* being chief Mourner.

His Interment.

This Prince, Historians relate, was admirably form'd for the great Enterprizes he undertook. He was tall and strongly built, and not at all inclin'd to fat. His Hair and Eyes were black, and in the latter there appear'd

His Person and Character, with a Review of his Reign.

pear'd a wonderful Vivacity. He had a Majestick Mien, and was expert in such Exercises as were suitable to a Person of his Rank. He enur'd himself to all manner of Hardships that might be expected in a Military Life, endur'd the Extremes of Heat and Cold, Hunger and Thirst, with extraordinary Patience and Cheerfulness, and by his Example encourag'd his Soldiers to undergo the Fatigues of several Winters Campaigns. But to come at his true Character, it is necessary in this, as in other Reigns, to review the principal Actions of his Life, and let the World judge for themselves. At three hundred Years distance we have but two Ways of knowing the Character of a Prince, either we must take it upon Trust from the Historians of those times, or examine the Facts they form'd his Character upon. The latter of these is justly deem'd the surest way of Judging; for in most of the Characters we meet with in Historians, the Prince they speak of is represented either as superlatively great and good without any Mixture of Human Frailty; or else he is made the weakest and wickedest of the Sons of *Adam*, without the least Spark of Wisdom or Virtue.

He was educated at *Oxford*, where, 'tis said, the Principles of Honour and Virtue were instill'd into him by his Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester*. We see him afterwards General in several Battels against the *Welsh*, where he came off Victorious; and yet his Father had no sooner dismiss'd him from the Command of his Armies, and all Civil Employments, (jealous, 'tis said, of his enterprizing Genius) but the Prince confederated with the most  
 Pro-

Profligate of Mankind, even with Felons and Highwaymen, and led the Life of a common Robber. Upon his coming to the Crown 'tis observ'd indeed, that he dismiss'd his old Companions; but 'tis highly probable he retain'd some of them, for *Falstaff*, who was one of the Number, was afterwards a considerable Officer in the Army, and entrusted, together with the Earl of *Dorset*, with the Defence of *Harfleur*, the King's first Conquest in *France*, and look'd upon to be a Fortress of the greatest Importance to the *English* in that War. I'm apt to believe therefore that if *Henry* did discharge some of his loose Companions at his entering on the Government; yet having experienc'd their Bravery upon the Road, he gave them Commissions in the Army when the War broke out; for a private Robber soon becomes an Adept in publick Rapine; and it is observable, that the best Soldiers King *Edward III.* had in his Army when he made the like Attempt upon *France* were Men exactly of the same Genius and Qualifications. But to proceed, it is look'd upon to be a signal Instance of *Henry's* Piety that he did Honour to the Remains of King *Richard II.* whom his Father had depos'd and murder'd. He acknowledg'd his Father's Guilt, but did not think fit however to relinquish the Fruits of that Parricide. He is applauded also to the Skies for adhering to the Clergy, and persecuting the poor *Lollards*, some of them his faithful Domesticks, with Fire and Faggot, against his Inclination and Conscience, because the Clergy appear'd devoted to his Interest, and encourag'd his Enterprize against *France*. His Ambition has been severely censur'd, in

that he demanded at first no more than the Provinces yielded to *England* by the Treaty of *Bretigny*; and yet when he found the Divisions of the *French* Court favour'd him, nothing less would content him than the whole Monarchy of *France*; in the attempting to recover which he brought unspeakable Miseries upon that Kingdom, and beggar'd his own by Taxes, leaving both Nations in a most distracted State. This is the Hero so much celebrated in our Histories. 'Tis true, he abundantly manifested his personal Valour and Military Skill at the Battel of *Agincourt*, where, with 20,000 Men, he obtain'd a compleat Victory over the united Forces of *France*, amounting to an hundred thousand and upwards. That he was brave, politick, patient, temperate, and even the greatest General of the Age he liv'd in I shall readily acknowledge; but he might be all this, and yet govern'd by such Maxims as were very destructive to his People. It must be admitted by every one that is conversant in the History of *England*, that all Attempts to enlarge our Territories on the Continent of *Europe* have ever prov'd fatal to us: And it is no less certain, that in general those that have pass'd for Heroes in former Ages have been the Scourges of Mankind, and brought greater Calamities on the Earth than either Plague or Famine. It may be consider'd further, that we had probably thrown off the Yoke of Popish Tyranny and Superstition, even in that early Reign, if the King's Ambition had not engross'd his whole Soul, and render'd him insensible of the Rage and Cruelty which the Votaries of *Rome* exercised on those brave

Men



Men who asserted and defended the Truths of Christianity, and submitted to the most exquisite Torments rather than deny their Principles. Had he, instead of attempting the Conquest of *France*, ventur'd to protect and countenance the Disciples of *Wickliffe*, the Attempt had been truly brave and beneficial to the World; he had then had the Honour of being the first Monarch that contributed to dispel the Darkness of Popery, and rescu'd his Subjects from the greatest of Slaveries, the being oblig'd to think and believe contrary to common Sense, and that in the most important Concerns; whereas his Successes Abroad brought no manner of Advantage to his own or any other People; but on the contrary, involv'd two flourishing Nations in Blood and Ruin.

As to the King's Title, it stood upon the same bottom with that of his Father's, and therefore I need say no more of it here. His Title:

He married the Princess *Katherine*, Daughter of *Charles VI.* King of *France*, on the second Day of *June*, in the seventh Year of his Reign, and had Issue by her only *Henry*, surnam'd *Windfor* from the Place of his Birth, who succeeded him in his Throne. *Queen Katherine*, after the King's Death, married *Owen Tudor* a *Welsh* Gentleman, said to be descended from *Coel* one of the King's of *Britain*: Others relate he was of a meaner Extraction, the Son of a common Brewer; which Accounts however are not inconsistent if we consider the Revolutions in Families in a long Course of Years. But however that be, it is agreed he was a very handsome Man, and that the Queen had Issue by him *Edmund Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*, Marriage and Issue.

who married *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, (Grandson of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*) and had Issue by her *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, who afterwards enjoy'd the Crown of *England* by the Name of *Henry VII.*

Acts

pass'd in  
this Reign.

The most material Acts pass'd in this Reign were,

The 1 *Hen. 5. Cap. 1.* enacting, That the Knights of Shires, Citizens and Burgessees, should be Resident in the respective Counties and Towns for which they were chosen.

*Cap. 7.* was a Confirmation of the 13 *R. 2.* restraining Aliens to accept any Benefices in *England.* And by an Act of the same Sessions, the Lands of the Priors Alien are granted to the Crown by the Consent of the Convocation.

2 *Hen. 5. Cap. 7.* enacts, That all Officers of the Government, from the Lord Chancellor to the Petty Constable, should swear to assist the Ecclesiasticks to extirpate Heresy. And that an Heretick Convict should not only be burnt, but all his Goods and Lands in Fee Simple be forfeited.

3 *Hen. 5. Cap. 4.* enacts, That all Provisions, Licenses and Pardons, relating to the Disposal of a Benefice full of an Incumbent, should be void.

Taxes.

And it is observable, that the greatest Taxes were rais'd in this Reign that ever were known in *England*; for in two several Years the Parliament granted two Tenths and two Fifteenths, and the Convocation more, in Proportion to their Lands; notwithstanding above an hundred Convents of Priors Alien were given to the King to convert into Money

at

at the same time. Towards the latter end of the King's Reign indeed we find the People perfectly exhausted, and unable to give any Supply almost. A single Fifteenth was all the King could obtain the two last Years. They gave him to understand, that as he was Master of the greatest Part of *France*, if he would continue the War it must be with the Product of the Provinces he had possess'd himself of, for his own Kingdom was no longer able to bear the Burthen of it.

C H A P. XXIV.

Contains the History of the Reign of  
H E N R Y VI.

A.D. 1422

A. 1 H. 6.

The King's  
Accession.

The Administration of the Government in the King's Uncles and the Privy Council confirm'd by Parliament.

THE late King being taken off in the Prime of his Age, when he was the upon Point of finishing the Conquest of *France*, was succeeded by his only Son *Henry of Windsor*, an Infant, scarce nine Months old, supported however by his Uncles, Men celebrated for their Conduct in War, and no less vers'd in the Arts of Government. One of these was appointed by the late King on his Death-Bed, to have the Administration of the Government in *England*, jointly with the Privy Council, and the Great Officers of State, during his Son's Minority: And this Appointment was ratify'd and explain'd in a Parliament held in *November* following, as appears by the Records of Parliament remaining in the Tower, where we find, that the young King by his Letters Patents, confirm'd by Parliament, appointed *John Duke of Bedford*, his eldest Uncle, Protector, and Defender of the Realm and Church of *England*, during his Residence in *England*; and in his Absence, the Duke of *Gloucester* to supply the said Office, with Protestation that the same should not redound to the Prejudice of the Duke of *Bedford*. It was further appointed, that the Protector should, during the King's Minority, dispose of all Offices in Forests, Parks, and Warrens, and of all Benefices in the King's Gift, (but the Disposal of the great Offices of State was reserv'd to the Parliament.) After which the Lords of

the





HENRY. VI.



the Council were nominated or confirm'd in *A.D. 1422*  
 Parliament, and it was declar'd, that no Act of *A. 1 H. 6.*  
 Council should pass without the Concurrence  
 of six of them at least ; and in all great Causes  
 all, or a great Majority should agree ; and  
 where the King ought to be consulted, no-  
 thing should be done without the Assent of  
 the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Gloucester*.

In the same Parliament, the King, with  
 the Concurrence of the two Houses, made  
 the Duke of *Gloucester* Chamberlain and Con-  
 stable of *England* ; and the Duke of *Somerset*,  
 and the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancel-  
 lor ; the King's great Uncles had the Care  
 of the King's Person committed to them.  
 The rest of the Great Officers also were ap-  
 pointed, or confirm'd in Parliament at this  
 time.

In another Parliament it was declar'd, that  
 the Stile of *Protector*, imported only a per-  
 sonal Duty of Attendance for the Defence of  
 the Realm, against Foreign Enemies or Do-  
 mestick Rebels, and not any special Govern-  
 ment belonging to Lieutenants, Governors,  
 or Regents ; that the Duke of *Gloucester* was  
 to preside indeed in Council, but in Parlia-  
 ment had no other Place than as Duke of  
*Gloucester*.

Thus much seem'd necessary to premise,  
 concerning the Exercise of the Government  
 during the King's Minority, the generality  
 of our Historians giving a very confus'd Ac-  
 count of it.

The Infant King *Henry VI.* was first pro- *Henry VI.*  
 claim'd by the Titles of King of *England*, proclaim'd  
 Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke of *Aquitain*, but King of  
*Charles VI.* of *France* dying on the 21st of *Octo-* *England.*  
*ber*, the Duke of *Bedford* immediately caus'd  
 him



A.D. 1422

A. 1 H. 6.

Proclaim'd  
King of  
France.

him to be proclaim'd King of *England* and *France* at *Paris*, and took upon him the Title of Regent of that Kingdom, ordering the Seals to be alter'd, and the Arms of *England* and *France* to be quarter'd together; he also assembled the *French* Nobility in and about *Paris*, and put them in mind of the Act of Succession that had pass'd the States of *France*, after the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Troye*, to which they had all sworn, and endeavour'd to shew the great Advantages that would accrue to *France* by the Union of the two Kingdoms. Whereupon all the Nobility that were present, took the Oaths to King *Henry*, and did him Homage as King of *France*, in which they were follow'd by the rest of the Kingdom, then in Possession of the *English*.

The *French*  
congratulate the  
young  
King on  
his Accession.

*Charles the*  
*Dauphin*  
proclaim'd  
King of  
*France*.

The Regent and Council of *France*, and City of *Paris* also, sent a Deputation to *England*, to congratulate the young King on his Accession to both Crowns. On the other hand *Charles the Dauphin*, having no regard to the Treaty of *Troye*, caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King of *France*, as soon as he receiv'd Advice of his Father's Death, and was crown'd at *Poitiers*, the beginning of *November*. He took upon him also to command the Parliament of *Paris* to adjourn to *Poitiers*, whither some few of the Members resorted. But to return to *England*.

The Par-  
liament of  
*England*  
meet.

The Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, on the 9th of *November*, having been summon'd in the young King's Name, it was held by Commission, as is usual where the King cannot attend in Person. The Duke of *Gloucester* being nominated Commissioner.



In this Parliament the Protector's Revenue was settled at eight thousand Marks, *per Ann.* and the Privy Council and Great Officers confirm'd in their several Posts, as has been hinted already. It was enacted also, that the King's Stile as well as Seals should be alter'd, the Title of King of *France* having been omitted from the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Troye*, to the Death of *Charles* King of *France*; and the Parliament granted the same Subsidy on Staple Wares and Tonnage and Poundage, as were given by the last Parliament. The Letters Patents granted to *Katherine* Queen Dowager, of several Manors and other Hereditaments of the Value of twenty thousand Marks, *per Ann.* for her Dowry, were confirm'd by this Parliament. And the Persecution of the poor *Lollards* were order'd to be reviv'd.

A.D. 1422

A. 1 H. 6.

In *France* Hostilities which had ceas'd for a little time, were again renew'd, *Meulan* was surpriz'd by *Charles's* Troops, the beginning of *January*, and retaken by the Duke of *Bedford* the second of *March*; and many other small Places were taken and retaken. At length there happen'd a smart Engagement, near *Crévant* in *Burgundy*, which the *French* had besieg'd. Here the *French* and *Scots* were defeated by the Earl of *Salisbury*, and above a thousand of them kill'd on the Spot. After which the Earl of *Salisbury* took several Towns, and drove the *French* entirely out of *Champaign*, while the Regent made himself Master of *Grotoy* in *Picardy*, after a Siege that lasted some Months.

A.D. 1423

A. 2 H. 6.

Battel of  
Crévant.The French  
driven out  
of Cham-  
paign.

In the mean time *Charles* receiv'd a Reinforcement from the Duke of *Milan*, and another from *Castile*, by whose Assistance he gain'd

Charles  
receives  
Reinforce-  
ments.

A.D. 1423

A. 2 H. 6.



He confers  
Honours  
on the Scots.

gain'd an Advantage over a Detachment of the *English* Forces, that were carrying off a great Booty of Cattel out of *Anjou* into *Normandy*. But that which gave most Life to his Affairs, was the Arrival of the Earl of *Buchan*, and his Father-in-Law, *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas*, with five thousand *Scots*, who landed at *Rochelle*. To encourage these Adventurers, he created *Douglas* Duke of *Tou-raine*, and *Stuart*, another of their Generals, Baron d' *Aubigny*; as to the Earl of *Buchan*, he was already Constable of *France*, the greatest Officer in the *French* Armies. *Charles* also appointed a Company of *Scots* to be his Guards, and his Successors had a Guard of the *Scotish* Nation for many Years afterwards. But to return to *England*.

The Par-  
liament of  
*England*  
confirm the  
Treaty  
with the  
King of  
*Scots*.

The Parliament being assembled on the 20th of *October*, the Treaty enter'd into by the late King, for setting the King of *Scots* at Liberty, was laid before them, wherein it was agreed, that *James* should pay forty thousand Marks for his Ransom, at several Payments, and in order to confirm him a Friend to the *English*, he was to have the Princess *Joanna*, Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*, and Niece of the Duke of *Exeter* and Bishop of *Winchester*, in Marriage, and ten thousand Pounds was abated of the Ransom agreed on, which was to be esteem'd part of his Queen's Fortune. After which a Truce was made by the Plenipotentiaries of both Kingdoms, to commence the first of *May* following; each Nation was oblig'd not to assist the Enemies of the other, and particularly *James* King of *Scots* engag'd to recal his Subjects out of the *French* Service; but this was very ill perform'd, the *Scots* remaining in

A.D. 1424

A. 3 H. 6.



*France*

A.D. 1424.

A. 3 H. 6.



*France* long afterwards. Most of our Historians also agree, that *James* did Homage to the Crown of *England* for the Kingdom of *Scotland* at this time, and give us the very Words of the Homage. *Rapin* indeed is of Opinion, no such Homage was demanded or paid, because he finds no Footsteps of it in the *Acts of State* collected by *Rymer*; but he must have observ'd, that those Acts are very imperfect, *Rymer* possibly collected all that he found, but it is evident there are a Multitude of Acts of State wanting in that Collection, either lost or damag'd, in the Places where they were carelessly repositd (till of late Years) and many more possibly, were wilfully destroy'd by those into whose Hands they fell, in the time of Civil Wars and Commotions.

Sir *John Mortimer* executed as a Traytor.

In the Records of Parliament it appears, that Sir *John Mortimer*, Cousin to the Earl of *March*, having talk'd too freely of his Right to the Crown, had been imprison'd in the Tower, in the late Reign, on Suspicion of Treason, and had made his Escape in the first Year of this Reign, and being retaken, was indicted for High Treason in breaking Prison. This Matter being brought before the Parliament, the Indictment was there declar'd to be good, and Sir *John* was order'd to be executed as a Traytor, his Head to be set upon the Bridge, and his four Quarters on the Gates of *London*, without being arraign'd or brought to his Trial in a legal Way, which Sentence was executed accordingly.

In the same Parliament *John Mowbray* Earl-Mar-  
Earl-Marshal, was restor'd to the Title of Duke  
Earl-Mar-  
shal re-  
stor'd to the

*A.D.* 1424 Duke of *Norfolk*, which his Father had been depriv'd of in the Reign of *Richard II.*

*A. 3. E. 6.*

Queen *Joanna*, the Relict of King *Henry IV.* Honour of I find had her Dowry restor'd her by this Parli-  
Duke of liament, together with all her Jewels and Ef-  
*Norfolk.* fects, which had been taken from her in the Reign of the late King *Henry V.* on Suspicion of her being concern'd in a Conspiracy against the Government, tho' she was never brought to a Trial for it. The Parliament also order'd the Money to be repaid, which the late King had borrow'd on his Jewels: And rais'd a Supply for the War in *France.*

Earl of  
*March* dies-  
and is suc-  
ceeded by  
the Duke  
of *York.*

This Year died *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, whose Title to the Crown had occasion'd his being sent out of the Way, into *Ireland*, with the honourable Title of the King's Lieutenant. By his Death the Title of Earl of *March* descended to his Nephew, *Richard Duke of York*, Son of the Earl of *Cambridge*, beheaded at *Southampton*, *Anna* 1415. It was this young Nobleman who afterwards reviv'd the Claim of the House of *York* to the Crown, and pav'd the Way for his Son *Edward* the 4th to the Throne.

In the mean time *Charles* having receiv'd considerable Reinforcements in *France*, the War was carried on there very briskly. The Regent laid Siege to *Ivry*; King *Charles's* Generals drew together an Army of twenty thousand Men, consisting of *French*, *Scots*, and *Italians*, and march'd to the Relief of it; but finding the *English* strongly entrench'd, they chose to make a Diversion, by investing *Vernevil*, a considerable Town near it, which surrender'd to them sooner than was expected. The Duke of *Bedford* therefore, having taken *Ivry*, march'd towards *Vernevil*, in order to invest



invest it, or give the Enemy Battel, who were at that time very advantagiously encamp'd before *Vernevil*. The Regent finding the *French* in this Situation, and their Troops far more numerous than his own, retir'd and posted his Army in a Place where he could not easily be attack'd, imagining that the Enemy depending on their Superiority, would leave their strong Camp, and attack him, which happen'd as he expected.

A.D. 1424

A. 3 H. 5.

The *French* Noblemen in King *Charles's* Army advanc'd, or rather run to the Engagement as to an assur'd Victory, and charg'd with that Confusion, that they were defeated with very little Loss. The Earls of *Douglas* and *Buchan*; the Lord *Stuart*, *Narbonne*, *Vantadour*, and almost all the *Scotish* and *French* Generals were kill'd upon the Spot, with five thousand of their Men, and many of the rest wounded or made Prisoners. Whereupon the Town of *Vernevil* immediately surrender'd to the Conquerors, in which was found all the Baggage belonging to the Enemy, with the Money design'd for Payment of the Army. *Douglas* and *Buchan*, to whom King *Charles* had given the Command of his Troops, 'tis said, were utterly against Fighting at this time, but were in a manner compell'd to it by the *French* Nobilty. This Defeat was so little expected, that the *Parisians*, who were acquainted with the Superiority of the *French* Troops, had ventur'd to raise an Insurrection in the City, in the Absence of the Duke of *Bedford*, who returning victorious, caus'd the Chief of the Conspirators to be put to Death. In the mean time the Earl of *Salisbury* took the strong City of *Mans*, and reduc'd all the Province of *Maine*.

The Battel  
of *Vernevil*The Province of  
*Maine* sub-  
du'd by the  
Earl of  
*Salisbury*.

*A.D.* 1424 *Maine* under the Obedience of the *English*, so that King *Charles's* Affairs were now look'd upon as desperate, both by the *French* and *English*; but a Quarrel between the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, prevented the Confederates taking the Advantage of the Consternation the *French* were in, and gave them an Oportunity of recovering themselves. The Occasion of this Misunderstanding in short was this, *Jaquelina*, Princess of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Friesland*, having been left a Widow by *John the Dauphin*, second Son of *Charles VI.* afterwards by her Mother's Persuasion, married *John* Duke of *Brabant*, a Relation of the Family, but remarkably weak and infirm both in Body and Mind. She had not liv'd many Months with him, but she applied to the Pope to obtain a Divorce from her Husband for Insufficiency, and while the Suit was depending, came into *England* and married the Duke of *Gloucester*, who looking upon himself to be thereby entitl'd to *Hainault*, and the other Provinces in the *Low-Countries* that belong'd to her; he transported an Army to *Calais*, and actually took Possession of *Hainault*, where he remain'd about a Year, but returning to *England*, his Forces were driven from thence by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was nearly related to his Rival the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Princess *Jaquelina* was made Prisoner by him, which occasion'd the Duke of *Gloucester* to send *Burgundy* a Challenge, and many provoking Letters and Messages pass'd between them upon that Occasion. *Jaquelina* afterwards made her Escape into *Holland*, whither the Duke of *Gloucester* sent her a Reinforcement of Troops from *England*, and

*A.D.* 1425*A.* 4 *H.* 6.

and the War continu'd some time in that Province. But the Matter being referr'd to Pope *Martin*, who decreed, that *Jaquelina's* Marriage with the Duke of *Gloucester* was null, and that she should return to her first Husband. The Duke of *Gloucester* was at length perswaded to drop the Matter, at the Instance of the Duke of *Bedford*, and the *English* and *Burgundians* again united their Forces against those of King *Charles*. In the mean time the Troops which should have been employ'd against the *French*, having been taken up in this Quarrel for more than a Year, the Affairs of the *English* in *France* suffer'd very much.

While the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Burgundy* were disputing about the Princess *Jaquelina*, the War was in a manner suspended; whereupon *Charles* took that Opportunity of engaging the *French* Nobility in his Interest; he prevail'd particularly with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and his Brother the Earl of *Richmond*, to desert the *English* Interest and come over to his Party, and conferr'd the Post of Constable of *France* on the Earl of *Richmond*.

The Quarrel between the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Duke of *Burgundy* was hardly accommodated, before there happen'd another between the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, who had always oppos'd each other in the Council; but their Differences were grown to such a Height at this time, that the Duke of *Bedford* was oblig'd to leave *France* and come over to *England*, where he was acknowledg'd Protector on his Arrival, and the same Salary assign'd

A.D. 1425

A. 4 H. 6.

The Duke  
of *Bretagne*  
takes part  
with  
*Charles*.

A Quarrel  
between  
the Duke  
of *Gloucester*  
and  
the Bishop  
of *Winchester*.

A.D. 1426 assign'd him as had been settled on the Duke of *Gloucester*.

A. 6 H. 6.

Referr'd to  
the Parlia-  
ment.

The Duke of *Bedford* being a Friend to both Parties, referr'd the Difference between the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Bishop of *Winchester*; first to some of the principal Nobility; but these not being able to reconcile them; the Matter was at length brought before the Parliament, where *Gloucester* exhibited several Articles against the Bishop, charging him with High Treason against the late King, and endeavouring to create Disturbances in the present Government, which a Committee being appointed to examine, reported, that the Charge was not made out to their Satisfaction: But as the Bishop had not behav'd himself with that Submission towards the Duke of *Gloucester* as he ought, he should beg the Duke's Pardon; and that thereupon they should shake Hands and be reconcil'd, which they submitted to, and became Friends in Appearance at least. At the same time the Bishop thought fit voluntarily to resign the great Seal, if we may Credit the Records of Parliament, tho' *Rapin* says it was taken from him by the Duke of *Bedford*.

While the Duke was in *England*, the Earl of *Richmond* the Constable rais'd an Army of twenty thousand Men, with which he took some inconsiderable Towns, but did not answer the Expectations the *French* had conceiv'd of him. The Bastard of *Orleans*, another of King *Charles's* Generals, however had the good Fortune to gain some Advantage of the Earl of *Warwick*, who commanded the *English* Army in the Absence of the Regent, obliging him to raise the Siege of *Montargis*.



The Duke of *Bedford* return'd to *France* in the beginning of the Year 1427, being accompany'd thither by the Bishop of *Winchester*, who receiv'd a Cardinal's Cap on his Arrival at *Calais*. The Regent having brought over a good Body of Troops from *England*, besieg'd and took the Town of *Pontorson*, and afterwards march'd in Person at the Head of an Army of twenty thousand Men towards *Bretagne*, threatening to destroy that Province with Fire and Sword; but the Duke of *Bretagne* submitting himself to the Regent, and promising to observe the Treaty of *Troye* for the future, prevented the Ruin of his Country; whereupon the Regent return'd to *Paris*.

A.D. 1427.

A. 6 H. 6.

The Regent compels the Duke of *Bretagne* to quit the French Interest.

The Parliament of *England* assembled at *Westminster* a Fortnight after *Michaelmas* this Year, at the opening of which the young King sat in Person on his Throne in the House of Lords. The principal Design of calling it being to find a Supply for the War in *France*, the Commons granted an Aid of six Shillings and eight Pence to be levy'd on all Lands of the Value of twenty Nobles *per Annum*, and six Shillings and eight Pence on every Knights Fee, and so in Proportion. In this Parliament the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Protector, declar'd he would not take his Seat in the House till he understood what the Power of a Protector was, several Persons having disputed his Authority. To which it was answer'd by the Lords, that he ought not to have been Protector, but that this Honour had been conferr'd on him at his Request. That the Name of Protector, or Defender, imported no more than his attending the Defence of the Realm against Foreign Enemies and Rebels, and not any special Government belonging to

Transactions in the Parliament of *England*.

A.D. 1427

A. 6 H. 6.

An Ordinance against marrying the Queen Dowager.

Lieutenants, Governors or Regents. That they intended indeed he should preside in Council; but in Parliament he had no other Place than as Duke of *Gloucester*, and advis'd him to take his Seat. An Ordinance also pass'd in this Session, that no Person should presume to marry a Queen of *England* without the King's License, which 'tis presum'd was levell'd against Queen *Katherine*, Dowager of the late King *Henry V.* who was about to espouse the famous *Owen Tudor*, a private Gentleman of *Wales*, but an exceeding handsome Man.

A.D. 1428

A. 7 H. 6.

*Orleans* besieg'd.

But to return to the War in *France*. The Earl of *Warwick* being appointed Governor to the King in the room of the Duke of *Exeter* deceas'd, was recall'd from thence, and the Command of the *English* Army, consisting of 15,000 Men, given to the Earl of *Salisbury*, who having taken several small Towns, ventur'd to besiege the City of *Orleans* on the 12th of *October*; tho' his Army was so small that he could only invest it on the side of *Sologne*. The other side of the Town was open, whereby the Besieg'd daily receiv'd Supplies and Reinforcements. The *English* however storm'd a great Bastion and Castle at the Foot of the Bridge call'd the *Tournelles*, and carry'd them, and had a fair Prospect of becoming Masters of the City, when the Earl of *Salisbury*, the General, was unfortunately wounded, by a Shot in the Head, as he was viewing the Town from a Window of the Castle lately taken, and died in a few Days, being succeeded in his Command by the Earl of *Suffolk*. This was a great Discouragement to the Besiegers; but the Duke of *Burgundy* sending a Detachment of his Troops to their Assistance soon after, the Siege was still vigo-

The Earl of *Salisbury* kill'd.

rously

roufly carried on. The *Burgundians* were posted on that side of the Town next *laBeauſſe*; but ſtill their united Forces not being ſufficient to block up the City entirely, the Beſiegers built Forts and Redoubts at little Diſtances round the Town, the better to prevent any Supplies being thrown into the Place; tho' there ſtill remain'd ſuch Intervals as a reſolute Body of Men might force their way through; and there ſeldom paſſ'd a Day without Skirmiſhes between the Troops lodg'd in thoſe Forts, and the Enemy's Parties who came to bring the beſieg'd Relief. Indeed the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* were in a manner beſieg'd themſelves by *Charles's* more numerous Forces, who frequently cut off their Proviſions, and attack'd the Convoys that were ſent to the *Engliſh* Camp. The Regent it ſeems foreſeeing the Difficulties that would attend this Siege, had always oppos'd the Undertaking; but ſince the Generals had engag'd in it, he did all he could to ſupport the Beſiegers. In *Lent* particularly he ſent them a large Quantity of Proviſions from *Paris*, convoy'd by the celebrated Sir *John Falſtaff* and ſeventeen hundred Men, who being attack'd by the Earl of *Clermont*, one of *Charles's* Generals, with three thouſand Men near *Orleans*, Sir *John* defeated the Earl and ſecur'd his Proviſions, which conſiſting chiefly of Herrings and other ſalted Fiſh, this Engagement was call'd the Battel of *Herrings*. But notwithſtanding the Superiority the *French* had in the Field, and the Difficulties the Beſiegers underwent, the Garriſon foreſeeing they could not hold out long, offer'd to ſurrender to the Duke of *Burgundy*; which the Duke of *Bedford* being acquainted with, would not conſent to, but ſaid, he

The Battel of *Herrings*.

*A.D.* 1429 hop'd they did not expect he should beat the Bush and suffer others to run away with the Game. As the War had been carry'd on chiefly by the *English*, and they had endur'd a Winter's Campaign to make themselves Masters of this City, there was no Reason they should resign their Conquests to another. This Answer had the Effect the *French* propos'd ; for it so disgusted the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he immediately withdrew his Troops from before the Place, and left the *English* Army to carry on the Siege as they could with nine or ten thousand Men.

The *Burgundians* quit the Siege.

The Maid of *Orleans* raises the Courage of the *French*.

As it was impossible in these Circumstances to prevent the throwing Succours into *Orleans*, the Garrison soon became as numerous as the Besiegers, and *Charles* commanded an Army double their Number in the Neighbourhood ; but the *French* still remain'd so dispirited that they could hardly be prevail'd on to engage the *English*, till some of their Generals hit upon a lucky Expedient to animate their Troops. They brought a young Maid to *Charles*, who pretended she was sent from Heaven to deliver *Orleans* out of the Hands of the *English*. She was naturally bold and daring to a degree of Madness ; and they had taught her the Exercise of Arms, and instructed her in Military Discipline, which she was suppos'd to have by Inspiration. The Court as well as the common People believ'd, or pretended to believe, she was sent from Heaven for their Protection, and every Soldier desir'd to march under her Colours to the Relief of *Orleans*. *Charles* hereupon detach'd fourteen or fifteen thousand Men, under the Command of his most experienc'd Generals, to *Orleans*, who found no Difficulty in entering the Town on that



that side that was open to them, which was however look'd upon as a most daring Enterprize, and the Success of it deem'd miraculous by *Charles's* Party. And now the Garrison being almost three times the Number of the Besiegers, they ventur'd, with the holy Maid at the Head of them, to attack the Forts and Redoubts in which the *English* had fortify'd themselves, and carry'd several of them, which was ascrib'd to the Divine Power that every where attended this Virgin. Certain it is, the *English* being out of all Hopes of taking *Orleans*, rais'd the Siege and march'd off in good Order with eight or ten thousand Men, being all the Forces they had there, on the 28th of *May*; and tho' their Number was so very small, the Courage of the *French* was not yet so far rais'd as to venture to attack them in their Retreat.

*The Siege  
of Orleans  
rais'd.*

The raising the Siege of *Orleans* however gave the Maid a mighty Reputation; and the Duke of *Alençon* defeating a Detachment of the *English* Troops at *Pattai*, where the Lords *Talbot* and *Seale* were made Prisoners, as the Earl of *Suffolk* had been a little before in the Town of *Gergeau*, confirm'd the People in the Divinity of her Mission; and the *French* who had taken the Oaths to King *Henry* made no scruple to come over to *Charles's* Party, pretending they were absolv'd from their Oaths by Heaven itself, which had wrought so many Miracles by the Hands of the holy Maid, to convince them of their Duty to *Charles* their natural Sovereign.

*The Battel  
of Pattai  
Earl of  
Suffolk and  
Talbot  
made Pri-  
soners.*

The Dauphin finding his Affairs so much improv'd by means of this Impostor, was prevail'd on by her to march cross the Country as far as *Rheims* to be Crown'd a second time, this

*Charles  
Crown'd  
at Rheims.*

*A.D.* 1430 this being the City where the *French* Monarchs usually are anointed, and this still gave him a greater Reputation. Many Cities immediately declar'd for him, and it was with Difficulty the Regent maintain'd himself in *Paris*. But after all these Successes which had been ascrib'd to the Divine Maid, she was taken Prisoner in the Year 1430, and burnt as a Witch at *Rouen*. A further Account of this Impostor will be found in the *Modern History of France*, Vol. XII. I shall only therefore transcribe part of a Letter we meet with among *Rymer's Acts of State*, to shew what Opinion the Duke of *Bedford* himself had of the Maid of *Orleans*.

Duke of  
*Bedford's*  
Letter con-  
cerning  
the Maid  
of *Orleans*.

*Super Morte Comitis Sarum Super Incantamentis Diabolicæ Fæminæ quam Puellam nuncupant & de Statu tunc Rerum in Francia inter alia hæc memorantur Ducis Bedfordiæ ad Regem Verba: Videlicet.*

*A.D.* 1428

*A.*

*Coton. Bib.*  
*Titus. E. 5.*

And alle thing there prospered for you til the Tyme of the Siege of *Orleans* taken in hand God knoweth by what Advis.

At the whiche Tyme after the Adventure falling to the Persone of my Cousin *Salisbury* whom God assoille, there felle, by the hand of God as it seemeth a greet Strook upon your People that was assembled there in grete nombre, caused in grete Partie as y trowe of lakke of fadde Beleve and of unlevefulle doubte that thei hadde of a Disciple and Lyme of the Feende called the Pucelle that used fals Enchauntements and Sorcerie.

The whiche Strooke and Discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete Partie the Nombre of youre People there but as well withdrowe

drowe the Courage of the Remenant in mer-  
 veillous wyfe and couraiged youre Adverse  
 Partie and Enemys to assemble hem forth-  
 with in grete Nombre, &c. *The rest of the  
 Letter is not legible*

A.D. 1430

A. 9 H. 6.

The Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy* how-  
 ever being reconcil'd, things began to put on  
 another Face, many of the Towns which had  
 revolted to *Charles* were retaken again; and  
 King *Henry* having been first Crown'd at  
*Westminster* on the sixth of *November* 1429,  
 came over to *France* in *April* following to be  
 Crown'd there. He resided at *Rouen* about  
 six Months, till Forces were levy'd in *England*  
 to attend him to his Coronation; for it ap-  
 pears, that great Numbers of Officers and  
 Soldiers, who had been retain'd for this Ser-  
 vice, absconded and refus'd to go over, being  
 terrify'd at the Successes of the Maid of *Or-  
 leans*, whom they look'd upon to be arm'd  
 with a supernatural Power; and this was the  
 Reason possibly that the Impostor being made  
 Prisoner, was afterwards burnt in the City of  
*Rouen*. But to proceed, the King was con-  
 ducted from thence by a strong Detachment  
 of the Army to *Paris*, attended by the Car-  
 dinal of *Winchester*, the Duke of *York*, and  
 many other of the *English* Nobility, and was  
 Crown'd in that City by the Cardinal on the  
 17th of *December* 1430; soon after which his  
 Highness set out for *England*, and arriv'd  
 there the beginning of the Year 1431.

K. Henry  
 Crown'd in  
*England*  
 and *France*.

Before I proceed further, it may be neces-  
 sary to take some further Notice of Misun-  
 derstandings that still continu'd in the *English*  
 Court between the Duke of *Gloucester* and the  
 Cardinal of *Winchester*, which occasion'd per-  
 petual

Contenti-  
 ons be-  
 tween the  
 Duke of  
*Gloucester*  
 and the  
 Cardinal of  
*Winchester*.

*A.D.* 1430 perpetual Contentions in the Council, and no doubt were very Prejudicial to the King's Affairs at Home and Abroad. The Cardinal, 'tis said, assuming still a greater Authority upon his Advancement to that Dignity, the Duke of *Gloucester* took all Opportunities to mortify him : He asserted, that the Cardinal's Cap was inconsistent with his enjoying an *English* Bishoprick, and propos'd his being depriv'd of the latter ; and tho' he did not succeed in this, yet he prevented the Cardinal's acting as Bishop of *Winchester* at the Festival of the Garter on St. *George's* Day the present Year.

The Cardinal made General against the Protestants of *Bohemia*.

The Protectorship declar'd void.

Soon after the Cardinal was made General of a Crusado against the *Bohemian* Hereticks the *Hussites* by the Pope, with a Design, as 'tis suppos'd, to divert the *English* from prosecuting the War in *France* ; but when the Forces were rais'd, such was the declining Condition of the King's Affairs in *France*, that the Council found a Necessity of employing them there ; and the Cardinal himself consented to serve with them in *France* under the Duke of *Bedford*. Afterwards it appears that the Cardinal procur'd the Protectorship to be declar'd void upon the King's Coronation ; but the Duke of *Gloucester* had still Interest enough in the Council to get himself constituted Guardian and Lieutenant of *England* in the King's Absence. The Cardinal also insisted that the Duke of *Bedford* ought no longer to act as Regent of *France* while the King was there, his Intention in which was the same as in depriving the Duke of *Gloucester* of the Protectorship of *England*, namely, that he might have the greater Stroke in Affairs of State, as Governor to the young King ;



King ; for his Highness is said to have taken the Government into his Hands at his Coronation, tho' he was then but about nine Years of Age, and consequently the Administration of the Government would in a great Measure be lodg'd in the Cardinal and the King's other Governor the Earl of *Warwick*.

On the other hand, during the Cardinal's Absence in *France*, the Duke of *Gloucester* suggested to the Council that he design'd to desert the King's Service there and come over to *England* and raise Disturbances here under Colour of the Pope's Authority. He also renew'd his Proposal for depriving the Cardinal of his Bishoprick, affirming that the same Person cou'd not be Cardinal and Bishop ; but the Council refus'd to determine anything in that Matter 'till the Cardinal return'd and was heard, and the Cardinal appear'd to have such an Interest in the House of Commons, that they address'd the King that in consideration of his great Services to the State he would give him a full Pardon for all Offences he might have committed against the Statutes of Provisors.

The Cardinal afterwards being upon a Journey to *Rome*, and already arriv'd in *Flanders*, the Duke of *Gloucester* charg'd him in the Council with High Treason, and order'd his Baggage to be stopp'd at *Sandwich*, in which he alledg'd there were several of the Crown Jewels. Whereupon the Cardinal return'd in haste to *England*, and took his Seat in the House of Lords, declaring he was come to defend himself against the Charge of High Treason, which he heard had been exhibited against him. And the Duke of *Gloucester* not attempting to prove the Charge, his Eminence

A.D. 1431

A. 10 H. 9

The Cardinal gets the better of the Duke of Gloucester.

The Method of raising Soldiers and paying them in this Reign.

was declar'd innocent, for which he return'd Thanks to the House, from whom he receiv'd a Declaration in Writing that he had prov'd himself a loyal Subject. And the Cardinal afterwards offering to lend the King six thousand Pounds, and to forbear the calling in thirteen thousand more, which the Council had borrow'd of him, his Baggage was order'd to be return'd, and Leave given him to carry over Jewels to the Value of 5000 Marks and 10,000 Pounds in Money. And thus the Cardinal by the Influence of his great Wealth, in a necessitous State, triumph'd over his Adversaries.

Another thing which deserves to be taken Notice of in this Reign is, the Method of raising Soldiers and paying them, which was as follows; the Council were empower'd by the Parliament to borrow Money in the King's Name; and then they agreed with Noblemen and other Officers of the Army to bring a certain Number of Men into the Field; for Instance, they agreed with the Earl of *Salisbury*, that on his finding 600 Men at Arms and 1700 Archers, he shou'd receive the following Rates (*viz.*) himself 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *per Diem*, for every Knight Banneret 4 Shillings, for every Knight Batchelor 2 Shillings, for every Man at Arms 12 Pence, and for every Archer 6 Pence *per diem*. See *Rymer's Acts of State* Vol. 10. p. 392.

This Year an Act was pass'd, that no Person shou'd vote at an Election of Knight of the Shire who was not seiz'd of forty Shillings *per Annum* Freehold, whereas before every Freeholder, how small soever his Tenement was, had a Voice.

In the 11th Year of this Reign the Duke of *Bedford* came from *France* again, and took his Seat

Seat in Parliament, declaring he was come over to take care of the King's Person, and to justify himself before them, it having been reported that the King's Losses in *France* were occasion'd by his Default or Negligence. But the Chancellor in the Name of the King answer'd, that his Highness esteem'd him a true and faithful Subject, and gave him his hearty Thanks for coming over. In the same Parliament the Commons came up to the House of Lords, and by their Speaker declar'd their Satisfaction in the Duke of *Bedford's* Conduct in the *French* War, particularly at the Battel of *Vernevil*, and in his prudent Government of the Realm, and petition'd the King, that he might remain about his Person for that End, which was agreed to, and the Duke thereupon made a considerable stay in *England*.

The Duke of *Bedford* afterwards declar'd, that as he and the Duke of *Gloucester* as principal Counsellors had some Years the Fee of 8000 Marks *per Annum*, at others 6000, sometimes 5000, and at others 4000 Marks, he should desire only 1000 Marks *per Annum* for the future, 500*l.* for his Passage to *England*, and as much for his Re-passage. After which the Commons having given the necessary Supplies, the Council were empower'd to borrow on them the Sum of 100,000 Marks. It appears by the Records of Parliament that the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Gloucester* were constantly opposed by the Cardinal of *Winchester*, the Arch-Bishop and Bishops in the Council, who did their utmost to hinder the Success of the *English* Arms in *France*, and to put an end to the War: These Prelates had such an Influence both in the Council and

A.D. 143<sup>2</sup>  
 A. 111 H. 6.  
 The Duke  
 of *Bedford*  
 comes over  
 to *England*  
 again.

A.D. 1432 the Houses in the Duke of *Bedford's* Absence,  
A. 11 H. 6. that he found it necessary to spend some time  
 here in order to preserve the good Opinion of  
 the King and the Nation; but to return to  
*France.*

A.D. 1433 There happen'd an Insurrection of the Pea-  
A. 12 H. 6. sants in *Normandy* in the Year 1433, which  
 very much endanger'd the *English* Govern-  
 ment; but it was suppress'd in the Bud by the  
 Earl of *Arundel*, and was not attended with  
 any other ill Consequences than the Loss of  
*Dieppe* and *Harfleur*. About the same Time  
 the Duke of *Bedford* having buried his Dutcheß  
*Anne* of *Burgundy*, married the Lady *Jaque-*  
*lina*; Daughter of the Earl of *St. Paul*; which  
 The Duke the Duke of *Burgundy* took upon him to re-  
 of *Burgun-* sent, because he was not acquainted with  
 dy deserts it, the Earl of *St. Paul* being his Vassal.  
 the *English*. But it is evident that the Duke of *Burgundy*

Enters into  
 a separate  
 Treaty  
 with  
*Charles.*

was now looking out for some Pretence to  
 break with the *English*, and if he had not met  
 with this, wou'd have found something else to  
 have quarrel'd with them about; for at this  
 time he enter'd into a secret and separate Trea-  
 ty with *Charles* the Dauphin, who gave him  
 his own Terms. By this Treaty *Charles* dis-  
 avow'd the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy's*  
 Father, promis'd to deliver up the Murder-  
 ers, to found Chapels to pray for the Soul of  
 the deceas'd Duke, to erect a Cross upon  
*Montereau* Bridge as a Monument of the Mur-  
 der, and engag'd to pay the Duke fifty thou-  
 sand Marks besides the Charges of the War,  
 and relinquish the Homage due for the Pro-  
 vinces the Duke possess'd. However, to  
 blind the World, a Treaty of Peace was pro-  
 pos'd by the Duke of *Orleans* to be held at  
*Arras* between the *English* and the Duke of  
*Burgundy*

A.D. 1434

A. 13 H. 6.

The Trea-  
 ty of *Arras.*



*Burgundy* on one side, and *Charles* the Dauphin of the other, to which the Pope, the General Council, and most of the Princes of *Europe* sent their Ambassadors. The Duke of *Orleans* pretended, it seems, he had Authority from *Charles* to assure the *English* he would be content with some of the Provinces and acknowledge King *Henry* to be King of *France*, which was done only to amuse the *English* till the Dauphin and *Burgundy* had perfected their Negotiation, for when the Plenipotentiaries met at *Arras* the *French* refus'd to yield up any thing more than *Normandy* and *Guienne*, which the *English* were already in Possession of (besides *Paris* and several other Provinces) and that even these should be held of *Charles* as King of *France*. Whereupon the *English* Plenipotentiaries broke up the Conferences without returning any Answer to the insolent Demand; which the Duke of *Burgundy* made his Pretence for deserting the *English*, tho' his Agreement with *Charles* had been concluded some time before the Congress at *Arras*.

A.D. 1434

A. 13 H. 6

The *English* over-reach'd by the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*.

In the mean time there were no great Armies on Foot on either side in *France*, but Murders, Rapine, and Plundering were frequent in every part of the Kingdom; some Skirmishes also happen'd between small Parties, in one of which the Earl of *Arundel* was kill'd; whereupon the Lord *Talbot*, who had lately been exchange'd, was sent over to *France* with three or four thousand Men, who retook several Towns from the *French*. But besides the Defection of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the *English* receiv'd another great Loss in the Person of the Duke of *Bedford*, who died this Year at *Rouen*; a Nobleman who had

A.D. 1435

A. 14 H. 6

Miseries of *France*.

The Earl *Arundel* kill'd.

The Duke of *Bedford* dies.

*A.D.* 1435 had all the Qualifications requisite to form a great Prince, who with less than thirty thousand Men, and very slender Supplies maintain'd the Sovereignty of the *English* in most of the Provinces in *France* for twelve Years, notwithstanding the Dissentions in the *English* Court, and the Treachery of their *Burgundian* Allies. He was buried in the Great Church of *Rouen*, and had a magnificent Tomb erected to his Memory, which *Lewis XI.* taking a View of some Years afterwards, his Courtiers propos'd the demolishing it, that it might no longer remain a Monument of the Weakness of their Nation. But the King order'd it to stand, looking upon it as an Argument of a mean Spirit to destroy the Trophies of a Prince after his Death, before whom the Nation bow'd and trembled while he was alive.

The State  
of the Na-  
tion laid  
before the  
Parliament

At the Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the 14th of *Henry VI.* the Chancellor open'd the Sessions with a Speech, wherein he shew'd that the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had taken the Oaths to the King as King of *France*, had revolted; that he had without the King's Knowledge, appointed a Congress at *Arras*, where the *French* only scoff'd at the reasonable Terms offer'd by the *English*, and that thereupon the Congress broke up, and it appear'd that *Burgundy* had made a separate Treaty with *France*; the Advice of the Parliament was demanded therefore, on the present situation of Affairs. Whereupon the Commons gave such Supplies as they saw fit.

The Duke of *Bedford* was succeeded in the Regency of *France* by the Duke of *York*, but the sending over the new Regent was so long delay'd, that the Affairs of the *English* suffer'd

fer'd very much in the mean time; for the Duke of *Burgundy* having join'd his Troops with those of *Charles*, their united Forces march'd up to *Paris*, where they found the *Parisiens* ready to open the Gates to them; and the *English* Garrison consisting but of fifteen hundred Men, the Governor was not able to prevent that City's falling into the Hands of the Enemy. Whereupon he retir'd into the *Bastile*, and made Terms with them, and was suffer'd to march away with Arms and Baggage. The *English* were now weary of the War, and gave very slender Supplies to support it, which with the Revolt of the Duke of *Burgundy*, is suppos'd to have broke the late Regent's Heart; tho' some have suggested, that it was not so much the Aversion of the People to that Service, as the Faction rais'd by the Cardinal of *Winchester* against the two Brothers, *Bedford* and *Gloucester*, which was the Occasion of the ill Success of the *English* Affairs in *France*.

Upon the new Regent's coming over, he drove the *French* out of *Normandy*: And the Duke of *Burgundy* afterwards laying Siege to *Calais*, was forc'd to raise it, upon the approach of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who over-run *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Hainault*, and carried away twelve hundred Waggon Loads of Plunder out of his Territories, and *Burgundy's* Subjects made such frequent Insurrections afterwards, that he was not at leisure to give *Charles* much Assistance; so that had it not been for the Factions among the *English*, they would probably have recover'd great part of what they had lost in *France*.

*James* King of *Scotland*, it appears, soon forgot his Promises and Engagements to *England*, for

A.D. 1436

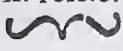
A. 15 H. 6.

Paris lost.

The Duke of Burgundy forc'd to raise the Siege of Calais.

The Duke of Gloucester plunders his Country.

*A.D.* 1437 for this Year he married his Daughter the Princess *Margaret* to *Charles's* eldest Son, now stil'd Dauphin of *France*, and sent over fresh Reinforcements to his Father, which were extremely prejudicial to the *English* Affairs there.

*A.* 16 *H.* 6.  In the beginning of the following Year, died the two Dowager Queens, viz. *Joanna*, the Widow of *Henry IV.* and *Katherine* of *France*, who after the Death of her first Husband *Henry V.* had married *Owen Tudor*, a private Gentleman of *Wales*, by whom she had three Sons, viz. *Edmund*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*. *Edmund*, the eldest, afterwards Earl of *Richmond*, married *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, from whom descended King *Henry VII.* Notwithstanding *Owen Tudor* had married Queen *Katherine* in Contempt of an Act of Parliament made on purpose to prevent it, I don't find the Government gave him any Uneasiness on that Score, during the Queen's Life; but as soon as she died, he was committed to *Newgate*, from whence he would not have been releas'd, probably, if he had not made his Escape. He was retaken and committed to *Newgate* a second time, what became of him afterwards, does not appear; tho' some mistaking him for his Son *Owen*, relate he was beheaded *Anno* 1460. The King of *Scots*, who was now entirely in the *French* Interest, and preparing to send over fresh Supplies to *France*, was barbarously murder'd in his Bed by some Assassins, hir'd by his Uncle the Earl of *Arbol*, and the Queen was wounded, endeavouring to save his Life. He left one Son, an Infant of seven Years old, under the Guardianship of his Mother, who being an *English* Lady, concluded a Truce with King *Henry* for nine Years, not long afterwards. This

Two Dow-  
ager  
Queens die.

*Owen Tu-  
dor* com-  
mitted to  
*Newgate*.

The King  
of *Scots*  
murder'd.



This Year a Famine, and after that the *A.D. 1438*  
 Plague, raging both in *England* and *France*,  
 there happen'd scarce any Transactions, either *A. 17 H. 6.*  
 at Home or Abroad worth relating. The *A Famine*  
 whole Attention of the People of both King- and *Plague*  
 doms seems to have been taken up in guard-  
 ing against these terrible Calamities. The  
 Duke of *Burgundy* indeed rais'd an Army, *The Duke*  
 and made another Attempt to take *Calais*; of *Bur-*  
 he had form'd a Project to drown part of the *gundy at-*  
 Town, by digging thro' a Bank and letting *tempts in*  
 in the Sea; but his Engineers were deceiv'd *vain to*  
 in their Expectations, and the Duke was ob- *take Calais*  
 lig'd to retire and leave *Calais* in the same  
 State he found it. He afterwards besieg'd  
*Guisnes*, but with no better Success. The  
 Prince was Jealous of the Neighbourhood of  
 the *English*, who might at any time from *Ca-*  
*lais*, over-run the Provinces of *Artois* and  
*Flanders*, which had induc'd both the Duke  
 and his Father often to attack the *English*  
 Territories on that side, in order to drive  
 them from the Continent, but they were ne-  
 ver able to effect their Purpose:

*Meaux* was besieg'd by the Constable of *A.D. 1439*  
*France*; the following Year, who having *A. 18 H. 6.*  
 taken it by Storm, hang'd up Monsieur *Han*,  
 the Governor, because he was a Native of *Meaux ta-*  
*France*; which, 'tis justly observ'd, the *French* *ken by the*  
 durst not have done, if the *English* Affairs *French.*  
 had not been upon the decline in that King-  
 dom. The Constable afterwards besieg'd  
*Auranches*, which was reliev'd by the brave  
*Talbot*, who afterwards retook the Town of *Harfleur*  
*Harfleur*, and almost clear'd *Normandy* of *taken by*  
 the *French*. *Diepe* was now the only Town *Talbot.*  
 they held there, and this he effected with an  
 Army of five or six thousand Men, while the  
 V O L. XVIII. Y *French*

*A.D.* 1440 *French* were four times his Number in the Field. From whence it appears that the *English* were not yet those dispirited Creatures, *Rapin*, and some other *French* Writers would represent them. It was the Divisions and Factions in the Court of *England*, and not the *French* Arms, that drove the *English* out of *France*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was so apprehensive that the *English* would still prevail, that he procur'd another Treaty of Peace to be set on Foot this Year near *Calais*; where the Council of *England* consented, that the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bretagne* should be Mediators, notwithstanding the Duke of *Gloucester* protested against it. The Duke of *Burgundy* had the Address to procure a long Truce with *England*, for his own Subjects, at this time; and obtain'd the Duke of *Orleans's* Liberty, who had been Prisoner in *England* five and twenty Years. But the *French* and *English* came to no Agreement.

A Truce  
with *Bur-*  
*gundy* and  
*Flanders*.

Tumultu-  
ous Electi-  
ons.

The Elections for Members of Parliament were contested with great warmth this Year, and the returning Officers, so terrify'd by the Tumults that were rais'd on these Occasions, that some of them durst make no return, particularly in the County of *Cambridge*, where *Gilbert Hore*, Sheriff, having made no Return, was order'd by the Parliament, to proceed to a new Election, and make Proclamation that no Person should come arm'd thereto. An Act also pass'd in this Parliament, declaring it to be Felony in any Soldier, retain'd in the King's Service, to depart from his Colours.

The Car-  
dinal go-  
vern's the  
King.

The King of *England*, a pious but a weak Prince, was at this time entirely govern'd by the Bishop of *Winchester* and the Clergy, he could

could not imagine that Persons of their Character, whose Business it was to propagate Religion, would either deceive or mislead him. The Cardinal also found means to insinuate himself into his Favour, by lending him Money from time to time, when the Distresses of the State were such, that the Parliament did not grant him Supplies sufficient for the Maintenance of his Household. He made use of the Ascendant he had thus gain'd over the King to instill in him an ill Opinion of his Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester*, insinuating, that this Nobleman had an Eye upon the Crown, or at least design'd to keep the King always as a Minor, and have the Regency of the Kingdom in his own Hands; nor had the Cardinal less Influence on the Council, than on the King himself. Whatever the Duke propos'd, how beneficial soever for the State, was sure to be oppos'd. He could not be heard, even when he gave the most substantial Reasons against releasing the Duke of *Orleans*. Whereupon his Grace drew up a Protest in Writing, wherein he observes, that the Incapacity of *Charles* the *French* King and his Son the Dauphin for Government, was evident to all the World; but it was probable, that upon releasing the Duke of *Orleans* the Administration would be committed to him, which must be extremely prejudicial to *England*, as he was a Prince of great Subtilty, and perfectly acquainted with the ill State of our Affairs. That the Dissensions lately arisen in the *French* Court, between the Dauphin and his Father, so advantageous to *England*, would probably be made up by this Prince. That neither the *English* Provinces in *France* or Foreign Prin-

A.D. 144<sup>o</sup>

A. 19 H. 6.

Duke of  
*Gloucester's*  
Reasons  
against re-  
leasing the  
Duke of  
*Orleans*.

*A.D.* 1440 ces, would have any regard for the *English*,  
*A. 19 H. 6.* when they saw them so weak as to deliver up  
 the best Security they had against the Insults  
 of their Enemies. That the late Reconciliation  
 between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*,  
 ought to be dreaded, since they would  
 now, probably, unite their Forces to drive  
 the *English* out of *France*. And as some Strefs  
 seem'd to be laid upon the Duke's Oath to  
 espouse the *English* Interest, he desir'd they  
 would have recourse to the Civil Law, and  
 see how far the Oath of a Prisoner ought to  
 be depended on. That no Lord would care  
 to hazard his Person in the Service in *France*,  
 after the Duke of *Orleans* was releas'd, it be-  
 ing doubtful whether they should be ever ran-  
 som'd or exchang'd. And as it seem'd ma-  
 nifest to him, that the Enlargement of the  
 Duke of *Orleans* would prove the Loss of  
*Normandy*, and the rest of the *English* Do-  
 minions in *France*, he desir'd they would con-  
 sider how they would answer it to their Coun-  
 try, especially when the late King had upon  
 his Death-Bed prohibited his being releas'd.  
 That he might not therefore be charg'd after  
 his Death with consenting to so pernicious a  
 Resolution, he desir'd his Protestation might  
 be recorded, and a Copy of it given him un-  
 der the Great-Seal, which he obtain'd. How-  
 ever the Articles for the releasing the Duke of  
*Orleans* were sign'd by the King on the 2d  
 of *July*, and the Council set his Ransom at  
 one hundred and twenty thousand Crowns,  
 and even this was to be forgiven him, if he  
 procur'd a Peace between the two Kingdoms.  
 But no Peace was ever concluded, nor per-  
 haps ever heartily attempted by the Duke of  
*Orleans*, after he had obtain'd his Liberty,  
 tho'



tho' this was the principal Inducement for releasing him. The War being renew'd again in the Year 1441, *Charles* took the Field in Person, and laid Siege to *Pontoise*, a Town of great Consequence, not far from *Paris*, into which the brave *Talbot* several times threw Relief; and the Duke of *York*, who had been appointed Regent of *France* on the Death of the Earl of *Warwick*, compell'd *Charles* to raise the Siege and retire with Precipitation. However the Duke of *York* being return'd to *Normandy*, *Charles* laid Siege to *Pontoise* again, and took the Town by Storm, leading on his Men in Person to the Breach, which gave him some little Reputation among his Subjects, who had hitherto look'd upon him as an indolent pusillanimous Prince.

A.D. 1441

A. 20 H. 6.

*Charles*  
takes *Pon-*  
*toise*.

In the mean time Faction run high in *England*, and when the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Enemies could find nothing material to charge him with, they endeavour'd to wound him through his *Dutchess*. They pretended she confederated with Witches and Wizards, and us'd Enchantments to destroy the King that her Husband might succeed to the Crown. They proceeded so far as to hang up a Priest and an old Woman, whom they pretended she had applied to; and the *Dutchess* herself was oblig'd to do publick Pennance in *St. Paul's*. Such Villanies do wicked Courtiers perpetrate, when they have the Ear of a weak Prince, to the ruin of the noblest Families, tho' there be not the least Truth in the Facts, or indeed any Colour for what they charge their Enemies with. Had not the Ministry been more intent on worrying those who oppos'd their destructive Projects, than on the publick Good, they might have found

The *Dut-*  
*chess* of  
*Gloucester*  
prosecuted  
for Sorcery

*A.D.* 1441 found frequent Opportunities of recovering what they had lost in *France*. *Charles* and his Son the Dauphin were at perpetual Variance, and the whole Kingdom almost in a Confederacy against the Father; but he had the good Fortune to defeat the Designs of the Conspirators this Year, by bringing over the Duke of *Orleans* to his Interest, who at first took part with the Dauphin.

*A.D.* 1442 The Dissentions in the *French* Court being compos'd, *Charles* march'd into *Guienne*, and reliev'd *Tartos*, besieg'd by the *English*, and took several Towns from them; and the Countess of *Comminge* dying about that time, her Territories were adjudg'd to *Charles* by the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, in Prejudice of the Earl of *Armagnac*, who laid Claim to them. Whereupon that Earl offer'd to acknowledge the King of *England* for his Sovereign, and to give him one of his Daughters in Marriage, if he would assist him in the Recovery of his Rights. This was thought an advantagious Proposal by the Court of *England*, and the King was soon after contracted to one of the Earl's Daughters. But the Dauphin being sent with an Army into *Gascony*, drove the Earl of *Armagnac* out of all his Territories, and having treacherously made him Prisoner, carried him with his Daughters to *Paris*, without any Interruption from the *English*. Whereas had they afforded that Earl timely Assistance, in pursuance of the Treaty they had made with him, it would have establish'd them in *Guienne*.

The King contracted to the Earl of *Armagnac's* Daughter.

The *English* suffer the Earl to be driven out of his Country.

The Court of *England* made a Diversion indeed, when it was too late, by sending over a Body of five thousand Men to *Nor-mandy*,

*mandy*, under the Command of *Talbot*, lately *A.D. 1442*  
 created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who bravely de-  
 fended that Province, and laid Siege to *Diepe*; *A. 21 H. 6.*  
 but while he was gone over to *England*, to *Normandy*  
 solicit for a more powerful Reinforcement, defended  
 the Siege was rais'd. The Cardinal and his by *Talbot*.  
 Party were taken up with contriving the  
 Ruin of the Duke of *Gloucester* and his Friends,  
 when they should have supported the War  
 abroad, and had so far got the Ascendant of  
 the Duke at this time, that they would suffer  
 none but their own Creatures to have any  
 share in the Administration; which provok'd  
 the Duke to exhibit several Articles against  
 the Cardinal, at the Council Board, wherein  
 he charges him with the Breach of the Sta-  
 tutes of Provisors, and procuring Bulls from  
*Rome*, to establish him in his Bishoprick con-  
 trary to Law. That he with the Archbishop  
 of *Canterbury* had seiz'd upon the Govern-  
 ment of the King's Person without any Au-  
 thority. That he had been instrumental in  
 the Duke of *Orleans's* Enlargement, and in  
 reconciling him to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to  
 the Prejudice of the Kingdom. That his  
 Friends only had the Command of the For-  
 ces in *France*, whose mean Abilities for that  
 Service, had occasion'd the many Losses the  
*English* had sustain'd there. These were the  
 most material; there were some others of less  
 Consequence, but the Cardinal had too many  
 Friends in the Council, to suffer them to be  
 proceeded upon, the Duke of *Gloucester* was  
 not only oblig'd to drop the Process, but  
 daily receiv'd fresh Mortifications from his  
 Enemies; and the Cardinal secur'd himself  
 against any after Reckonings, by a Pardon  
 he

*A.D.* 1443 he procur'd for whatever he might have done amifs.

*A. 22 H. 6.*

In *September* this Year the Dutcheſs of *York* *Edw. IV.* was brought to Bed of a Son named *Edward*, who afterwards aſcended the Throne of *England* by the Name of *Edward IV.*

*A.D.* 1444

*A. 23 H. 6.*

A Truce  
with  
*France.*  
The King  
marries  
*Margaret*  
of *Anjou.*

The In-  
ducements  
of the Mi-  
niſtry to  
promote  
this Match.

The Duke  
of *Gloucester* de-  
clares a-  
gainſt the  
Marriage.

The following Year was taken up chiefly in Negotiations between *England* and *France*, which ended in a Truce for eighteen Months, and a Marriage between the King of *England* and *Margaret* of *Anjou*, the Daughter of *Rene* King of *Sicily*, a very poor Prince, who could give no Fortune with his Daughter. On the contrary, the *French* Court oblig'd the King of *England* to deliver to her Father the ſtrong Town of *Mans*, with the whole Province of *Maine*, the very Barrier of *Normandy*. The Earl of *Suffolk*, who was the principal Plenipotentiary in this Treaty, and a Creature of the Cardinal's, 'tis ſaid, propos'd to eſtabliſh his Party in the Adminiſtration by this Match and ruin the Duke of *Gloucester*. As the King was not only unequalify'd but averſe to the Management of State Affairs, it was propos'd to find him a Queen of another Genius able to ſuſtain the Weight of Government, and who ſhould eſteem herſelf ſo much oblig'd to the Miniſtry for her Advancement and Support that ſhe ſhould be ever ready to protect them and diſcountenance their Adverſaries. The Duke of *Gloucester* appear'd mightily ſurpriz'd at the Concluſion of this Match, in which he had not been conſulted, and objected that the King was already contracted to a Daughter of the Earl of *Armagnac's*. He inſiſted alſo that the Loſs of *Normandy* would inſallibly be the Conſequence of delivering up *Mans* and *Maine*; but the King being entirely govern'd by the

Car-



Cardinal, notwithstanding his Uncle's Representations, sent over the Earl of *Suffolk* to espouse the Princess of *Anjou* in his Name, and the Marriage was solemniz'd by Proxy at *Tours* in *November*, tho' the Queen did not arrive in *England* till the following *May*. A.D. 1444  
A. 23 H. 6

The Parliament meeting in *February* 1445, A.D. 1445  
A. 24 H. 6.  
Doctor *Stafford*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Lord Chancellor of *England*, open'd it with a Speech, wherein he acquainted the Houses with the Truce that had been concluded, and the King's Marriage with the Princess of *Anjou*, which he suggested would probably be attended with a lasting Peace.

Upon the King's Marriage there were several new Creations of the Nobility. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made a Marquis; *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exeter*; *Humphry*, Earl of *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*; and *Henry Beauchamp*, the young Earl of *Warwick*, was made Duke of *Warwick*. The Queen was Crown'd at *Westminster* the 13th of *May*. The rest of the Year was taken up in Negotiations of Peace, but ended in a Prolongation of the Truce till the first of *November* 1446. Several new Creations.  
The Queen Crown'd.

The Truce being prolong'd from time to time, the Duke of *York* came over to *England*, where he was well receiv'd by the Court, and had the Regency of *France* granted him for five Years more, in Consideration of his Services in that Kingdom; and tho' the Ministry were determin'd to convert the Truce into a Peace as soon as possible, yet wanting Money for some secret Service, they assembled a Parliament and demanded a Supply, under Pretence of making Preparations for War against the time the Truce should expire; A.D. 1446  
A. 25 H. 6  
Money obtain'd under Pretence of renewing the War.

A.D. 1446

A. 25 H. 6.

The Mar-  
quis of *Suf-  
folk* has the  
Thanks of  
the Parlia-  
ment for  
the Match.

from whence it appears, that this Stratagem of frightening the People out of their Money, when they can't be wheedled out of it, is not of modern Date. In this Parliament the Marquis of *Suffolk* receiv'd the Thanks of the House for the great Services he had done the Nation in procuring so advantageous a Match for the King, whom they address'd to reward his Merit, and even rais'd a Supply to defray the Expences of his Embassy to *France* upon that Occasion. Which makes it very evident that the Commons were at this time the Tools and Creatures of the Ministry, and were only call'd together to give a Sanction to their destructive Administration. But the most detested Service the new Queen and her Ministers put this mercenary Parliament upon was, the skreening them from the Odium of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Murder, which was determin'd soon after the Queen's Arrival in *England*. He was first dismiss'd from the Council, charg'd with acting Arbitrarily, and putting several People to Death illegally when he was Protector; but being able to bring no Evidence of these Facts, the Matter was dropp'd. This Prosecution however enrag'd the Populace, who were extremely fond of the Duke of *Gloucester*, especially the *Londoners*; and the Duke seem'd to condemn the Malice of his Enemies, knowing the best part of the Nation to be his Friends. The Ministry therefore apprehending that this great Man might one Day retaliate the Injuries he had receiv'd from them, determin'd to be before-hand with him, and take him off privately; in order to which the Parliament was order'd to meet at *St. Edmund's-Bury* the 10th

of

of *February* 1447, whither the Duke of *Gloucester* resorting to take his Seat as usual, was apprehended with above thirty of his Domesticks, being charg'd with a Conspiracy to depose the King and usurp his Throne ; as also with a Design of rescuing his Dutcheſs by Force out of *Kenelworth-Castle*, where she had been imprison'd ever since she was prosecuted for Sorcery. But whatever the Duke was charg'd with, they certainly never had any Intention to bring him to a fair Trial, he was found dead in his Bed the next Morning after he was apprehended, suppos'd either to be smother'd with the Bed-cloaths, or by running a Spit up into his Bowels, there being no Marks of Violence to be seen upon him. His Servants that were apprehended were some of the meanest of his Retinue, whom he could never be suppos'd to have entrusted with so great a Secret as the dethroning the King. These were prevail'd on however by Threats or Promises to confess themselves guilty of High Treason, and by their Evidence several more were convicted and condemn'd to be executed as Traytors ; but the Ministry having destroy'd their Master, contented themselves with his Blood, and granted the Servants a Pardon. Which makes it pretty evident that the Court never believ'd these poor Wretches to have been in a Plot against the Government, they would infallibly have made Examples of some of them if they had.

*A.D. 1447*  
*A. 26 H. 6.*  
The Ministry contrive the Duke of Gloucester's Destruction.

He is murder'd.

The People, who saw thro' all this Grimace, grew more discontented than ever. They openly curs'd the Queen and Ministry for the inhuman Murder : Nor did they spare even the King himself, whose Title to the Crown they began to examine, and turn their Eyes upon

*A.D.* 1447 upon the Duke of *York*, whose Family had  
*A.26 H.6.* been violently dispossest'd by the King's  
 Grandfather. But to return to the Duke of  
*Gloucester*. He was buried in the Abbey Church  
 of *St. Albans*, where a fine Tomb was after-  
 wards erected to his Memory. This Noble-  
 man was not only the Darling of the People,  
 who gave him the Name of *The Good Duke*,  
 but the greatest Patron of the Learned in that  
 Age. He is said to have laid the Foundation  
 of the famous Library in *Oxford*, now call'd  
 the *Bodleian*, from Sir *Thomas Bodley*, a later  
 Benefactor.

The Car-  
 dinal of  
*Winchester*  
 dies.

The Cardinal of *Winchester* triumph'd but  
 a little while in the Death of his Adversary.  
 He surviv'd the Duke no more than one  
 Month, when, 'tis said, he died with much  
 Reluctance, lamenting that the vast Treasure  
 he had heap'd up would not procure him a  
 Moment's Reprieve. He had seen Princes  
 and Parliaments bow before his Mammon,  
 and boasted that by its Influence he could  
 steer the Government as he pleas'd; but the  
 rigorous and impartial King of Terrors he  
 found was not to be brib'd,

The Court  
 jealous of  
 the Duke  
 of *York*.

The Queen and the Marquis of *Suffolk* had  
 now the sole Management of Affairs, and  
 us'd the King's Name to transact whatever  
 they saw fit, while he poor Prince minded  
 only his Devotions. But tho' they had dis-  
 patch'd the Duke of *Gloucester* out of the  
 Way, they were far from being entirely easy;  
 they soon became jealous that the Duke of  
*York* was carrying on Designs against the Go-  
 vernment, and found he was no less the Fa-  
 vourite of the People than the other had been.  
 Whereupon they depriv'd him of the Regency  
 of *France*, and constituted *Edmund Duke of*

*Somerset*

Deprive  
 him of the  
 Regency  
 of *France*,  
 and give it  
 to the  
 Duke of  
*Somerset*.



*Somerſet* Regent in his ſtead ; the Marquis of *Suffolk* being about the ſame time created Duke of *Suffolk*. A.D. 1448  
A. 27 H. 6.

The Truce with *France* had been prolong'd by Treaties to the firſt of *April* 1449, but the War was however unaccountably renew'd in the Year 1448. Sir *Francis Surienne*, a *Spaniard*, and Knight of the Garter, who had been twenty Years in the Service of *England*, was at this time Governor of *Lower Normandy* under the Duke of *Somerſet* the Regent ; and being inform'd a conſiderable Treafure was lodg'd in the Town of *Fongiers* belonging to the Duke of *Bretagne*, he ſurpriz'd the Place in the Night-time, and kept Poſſeſſion of it. The Duke of *Bretagne* thereupon apply'd himſelf to the Regent for Satisfaction, who took little Notice of the Matter, but referr'd him to the Court of *England*. The Eng-  
liſh ſur-  
prize Fon-  
giers,  
whereupon  
the War  
with  
France is  
renew'd.  
A.D. 1449  
A. 28 H. 6.

The Duke of *Bretagne* having waited ſome time, and finding no amends made him for this Inſult, complain'd to the *French* King, who immediately made the Cauſe his own, and demanded the Reſtitution of *Fongiers*, and 1500000 Crowns which the Duke of *Bretagne* pretended the *Engliſh* Soldiers had plunder'd his Subjects of.

The Court of *England* answer'd, they were ready to make the Duke of *Bretagne* Satisfaction for what Damage had been really done him, and propos'd a Conference with the Miniſters of *France* and *Bretagne* at *Louviers*, in order to adjust that Matter ; and Ambaſſadors from the ſeveral Powers concern'd met at *Louviers* accordingly, when the *Engliſh* declar'd, that Sir *Francis Surienne* had ſurpriz'd *Fongiers* without any Orders from his Superiors, and that the Court of *England* was ready to give the Duke of *Bretagne* Satisfaction,

A.D. 1449

A. 28 H. 6.

The  
French  
take several  
Towns  
in Nor-  
mandy and  
Guienne.

Rouen  
lost.

faction, but that the Damage could never amount to the Sum that was demanded. To which the *French* answer'd peremptorily, that unless the *English* would immediately pay that Sum, and restore the Town, they should look upon the Truce to be broken. They agreed however to continue the Negotiations, amusing the *English* till they had made Preparations to renew the War, and then broke off the Treaty abruptly. *Somerſet* the Regent, tho' he had all this while neglected to restore *Fongiers*, or make any Satisfaction to the Duke of *Bretagne*, had made no manner of Preparations for War, or to defend the *English* Territories under his Government. Whereupon *Charles* first surpriz'd the Castle of *Couches* and *Pont de L'Arche* in *Normandy*, with *Gerbay Coquac* and *St. Maigrin* in *Guienne*, by way of Reprisal for what had been taken from the Duke of *Bretagne*. Nor did he stop here, but being well acquainted with the Weakness of the *English* Garrisons, he soon after brought four Armies into the Field, one of which he commanded in Person; and with these he made himself Master of a great many other Towns in *Normandy* with very little Opposition. The Garrisons being generally weak, the *French* no sooner appear'd but they surrender'd, and many of them sent and made their Submission before the Enemy approach'd their Walls; even *Rouen* the Capital of *Normandy*, where the Regent commanded in Person with the famous *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was not able to prevent the Inhabitants delivering it up to the *French*. The Duke and the Earl however retir'd with seven or eight hundred Men into the Palace, where they hop'd to procure honourable Terms;

Terms ; but having no Provisions, were forc'd A.D. 1449  
 to surrender upon the following Articles, viz. A. 28 H. 6.  
 That they should pay fifty thousand Gold Crowns, leave their Artillery behind them, and deliver up the Towns of *Caudebec*, *Arques*, *Lillebone*, *Tancarville*, *Montrevilliers* and *Harfleur*, and leave the Earl of *Shrewsbury* an Hostage for the Performance of this Agreement. Whereupon the Garrison was permitted to march out with their Baggage and small Arms, and King *Charles* enter'd that City in Triumph on the 19th of *November* : The other Towns stipulated to be surrender'd were immediately afterwards evacuated, except *Harfleur*, the Governor whereof did not think himself oblig'd to execute that Part of the Treaty ; but the *French* laying Siege to *Harfleur* a little after, it was oblig'd to surrender the Beginning of *January*.

The next Campaign proved no less fortunate to the *French* than the former. The Duke of *Somerset* had shut himself up in the Castle of *Caen*, and sent for a Reinforcement of Troops from *England* ; but such were the Distractions at home that very few could be spar'd. Fifteen hundred Men only were sent to *Normandy*, under the Command of Sir *Tho. Kiriell*, who landed at *Cherberg* ; and having drawn about fifteen hundred more out of the neighbouring Garrisons, he ventur'd with this small Body to march thro' the Country towards *Caen*, but was intercepted by seven or eight thousand *French*, commanded by the Constable, and defeated near *Fourmigni*, the General himself being made Prisoner after a brave Resistance. Soon after which the Regent was besieg'd in *Caen*, and expecting no Relief, surrender'd the Place the 21st of *June*, within

A.D. 1450  
A. 29 H. 6.  
Caen and the rest of Normandy lost.  
The English defeated near Fourmigni.

A.D. 1450 within little more than a Fortnight after the  
A. 29. H. 6. Enemy came before it, against the Opinion of  
 his Officers, who declar'd it might have held  
 out much longer. One Reason it seems the  
 Duke gave for yielding so soon was, that his  
 Dutcheſs might not be frightened. After the  
 taking of *Caen*, the Duke return'd to *Eng-*  
*land*, and left the few remaining Towns to  
 ſhift for themſelves. *Cherberg* was the laſt  
 that remain'd in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and  
 this ſurrender'd on the 12th of *Auguſt*, where-  
 by King *Charles* became Maſter of all *Nor-*  
*mandy*. The Dutchy of *Guienne* remain'd in  
 the Hands of the *Engliſh* but a very little  
 longer. No Relief being ſent thither, the  
 States aſſembled at *Bourdeaux* the following  
 Year, and voluntarily ſubmitted to the Do-  
 minion of *France*. After which the *Engliſh*  
 remain'd poſſeſs'd of nothing more on the  
 Continent than the Town of *Calais*, and the  
 Caſtle of *Guiennes* in *Picardy*.

It is time now to return to *England*, and  
 obſerve what was doing there, while the  
*French* made themſelves Maſters of the Pro-  
 vinces on the other ſide the Water. And one  
 Reason it ſeems that was given for abandoning  
 the *Engliſh* Territories in *France* was, a Re-  
 bellion in *Ireland* that happen'd at the ſame  
 time with the Revolt in *Normandy*, whither  
 the Duke of *York* was ſent with a ſmall Body  
 of Troops very unequal for the Service they  
 were intended, the real Deſign of giving the  
 Command of thoſe Troops to the Duke of  
*York* being to remove him at a diſtance from  
*England*, where they found he was very po-  
 pular, and in hopes he might periſh, or at  
 leaſt loſe his Credit with the People, there  
 being very little Probability of his ſucceeding  
 in

The Duke  
 of *York*  
 ſent to *Ire-*  
*land*.



in that Enterprize : But the Duke being conscious of the Designs of the Court, instead of marching against the *Irish*, enter'd into a Treaty with them, and by his mild and gentle Administration so won their Affections that they laid down their Arms and submitted to his Government without Compulsion.

A.D. 1450

A. 29 H. 6



Upon the Revolt of the Towns in *Normandy* a Parliament had been summon'd to meet on the 6th Day of *November* 1449, to prevent those of *Guienne* following their Example ; but it was prorogu'd on Account of the Plague, and did not sit to do Business till the beginning of the Year following, when the Commons appear'd extremely incens'd against the prime Minister the Duke of *Suffolk*, as the Occasion of all the Losses they had sustain'd in *France*. The Speaker of the House of Commons went so far as to declare that he had actually sold the Realm of *England* to the *French* King, who was preparing to invade it. Whereupon the Duke desir'd they wou'd reduce the Charge against him into particular Articles, that he might be enabled to make his Defence ; shewing at the same time that his Father and three of his Brothers had been kill'd in the *French* Wars, and that he himself had serv'd thirty four Years there, and paid twenty thousand Pounds for his Ransom when he was made Prisoner, and that he was 17 Years together abroad without once seeing *England* ; and protested as he hop'd for Mercy at the Hands of God, he had ever been true to the King and Realm.

The Duke of *Suffolk* charg'd with betraying the Kingdom to the *French*.

Soon after the Commons exhibited Articles against the Duke, charging him with treating with the Bastard of *Orleans*, to persuade the *French* King to invade the King of *England's*

Articles prefer'd against the Duke.

*A.D.* 1450 Dominions, that during the Confusion he might place his Son upon the Throne, whom he propos'd to marry to the Daughter of *John Duke of Somerset*, next Heir to the Crown.

*A. 29 H. 6*



That he was brib'd by the *French* to set the Duke of *Orleans* at Liberty.

That he had been the Occasion of delivering up *Mans* and *Maine* to the *French*, and impos'd on the Council to induce them to ratify it.

That he had hindred the Conclusion of the Peace by discovering to the *French* the Weakness of the Kingdom.

That he had obstructed the sending Succours to *France*, and neglected to include the Allies of *England*, the King of *Arragon* and the Duke of *Bretagne* in the late Truce, by which he had rendred them Enemies to this Crown.

The Duke's Defence consisted in a flat Denial of one Part of the Charge, and as to the other, the delivering up *Maine*, &c. he produc'd the King's Orders. But the Commons still look'd upon the Duke to be nevertheless guilty; and that what he pleaded in his Defence was indeed an Aggravation of his Fault, namely, the making Use of the Royal Authority to the Destruction of his Country; and the Queen thought fit, in order to appease the People, to suffer the Duke to be committed to the Tower; after which she procured the Parliament to be prorogued to *Leicester*, looking upon the Citizens of *London* to have no small Influence on this Prosecution. In the Interval between the Sessions at *London* and that at *Leicester* the Queen releas'd her Favourite the Duke of *Suffolk* from his Confinement in the Tower; which put the Nation in such a Ferment that it occasion'd several Insurrections;

ons ; the most considerable of which was in *A.D. 1450*  
*Kent*, where the Populace were assembled by a  
 bold Fellow that gave himself the Name of *A. 29 H. 6.*  
*Blue Beard* ; but these being suppress'd, the  
 Duke of *Suffolk* had the Assurance to appear  
 again as prime Minister at the Parliament of  
*Leicester*. This so incens'd the Commons, that  
 they address'd the King in a Body, that the  
 Duke, who had been the Occasion of the  
 Loss of *Normandy*, might be punish'd accor-  
 ding to his Deserts : At which the Queen and  
 the Duke were confounded. They apprehended  
 if he put himself upon a Trial by his  
 Peers it would prove fatal to him : The  
 King therefore in order to skreen him from a  
 more rigorous Sentence, at the Instance of the  
 Duke himself, banish'd him for five Years :  
 Whereupon the Lords desir'd it might be  
 recorded, that this was not done by their  
 Judgment or Assent, that it might not be  
 brought for the future as a Precedent to debar  
 them or their Posterity of the Privilege of  
 being try'd by their Peers.

The Parliament were so apprehensive of a  
*French* Invasion at this time, that they gave  
 larger Supplies than usual, and of a different  
 Nature from what we meet with before ;  
 namely, a formal Land-Tax : every Person  
 who was seiz'd of Lands from Twenty  
 Shillings to Twenty Pounds *per Annum* in  
 Value being oblig'd to pay Six Pence in the  
 Pound ; those who had Lands from Twenty  
 to Two Hundred Pounds *per Annum* were to  
 pay Twelve Pence in the Pound ; and those  
 who were seiz'd of Lands of the Value of a-  
 bove Two Hundred Pounds *per Annum* were  
 to pay Two Shillings in the Pound. But to  
 return to the Duke of *Suffolk* ; tho' he



A.D. 1450 had escap'd the Judgment of his Peers, he was so apprehensive of being torn in Pieces by the People, that he immediately embark'd for *France*, but was met with in his Passage by an *English* Man of War call'd the *Nicholas*, sent out by the Duke of *Exeter* Governor of the Tower, the Commander whereof coming on board the Ship, either on purpose to search for the Duke of *Suffolk*, or on some other Account, and finding him hid in the Hold, apprehended this great Minister, and taking him into his Boat, cut off his Head in *Dover* Road, throwing his Head and Body upon the Shore, which were afterwards taken up and buried by one of his Chaplains. Whether this was done by Authority from the new Ministry or not does not appear; but the Duke was so universally hated by all sorts of People, that I don't find the Captain was ever call'd to Account for putting him to death in this Manner. But however that be, this Nobleman was the Person charg'd with being the Occasion of the Loss of all the *English* Territories in *France*; and certainly he was not entirely innocent; for notwithstanding he endeavour'd to justify himself by Orders he receiv'd from the King and Council, they were no other than what he himself had dictated, being at that time prime Minister, and the King incapable of judging what was hurtful or beneficial to the State. If it be demanded what Ends he cou'd have in betraying his Country, he had no doubt two very prevailing Motives. The Match with the Princess of *Anjou*, was brought about, as has been observ'd already, to fortify his Interest at Court, and destroy his great Enemy the Duke of *Gloucester*; with this View it was that he agreed to deliver up *Mans* and the County of

*Maine*

The Duke  
of *Suffolk*  
beheaded  
by a Cap-  
tain of a  
Man of  
War.



*Maine* to the *French*, which was the Barrier of *Normandy*, when he found *Charles* would not consent to marry his Kinswoman to the King of *England* without this Concession. One wou'd be tempted to think also that both the Queen and the Minister were under a secret Engagement to deliver up the rest of the Provinces, when we see above an hundred strong Places lost within a Year or two, which might have been defended for an Age, as the Sea was open to us, and most of them near the Coast. Certain it is, if they had contriv'd the delivering up these Provinces, they cou'd not have taken more likely Measures to effect their Purpose than they did; for none of the Towns had Garrisons sufficient to defend them; and those few Troops they had were unpaid, and allow'd to plunder the Natives for their Subsistence; which rais'd in them a general Disgust against the Dominion of the *English*. Nay, we find one of the Governors of *Normandy* actually taking a Town from the Duke of *Bretagne* for the sake of the Treasure that was lodg'd there, and refusing to make any Satisfaction, whereby that Prince became an Enemy to the *English*, who had for a great while acted as a Friend to the Nation. And notwithstanding the Garrisons were so weak, and the Country generally disaffected, the Court of *England* did not only neglect sending over Reinforcements when the *French* attack'd them, but recall'd the Duke of *York* from that Regency, who had ever been successful in *Normandy*, and sent the Duke of *Somerset* thither, who minded scarce anything but enriching himself by the Plunder of the People, and thereby encreas'd the Disaffection of the Natives. And no Wonder if in these Circumstances

A.D. 1450

A.29 H. 6.

The Occa-  
sion of the  
Loss of *Nor-*  
*mandy*, &c.

*A.D.* 1450 instances the *French* Provinces were lost in less time than they were conquer'd.

*A. 29 H. 6.*

A Loss that appear'd so great at that time of day, that we find the People shewing the utmost Resentment against the Queen and her Ministers, whom they apprehended the Authors of it; for while *England* was possess'd of the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne* she might well be look'd on as superior to *France*. *Normandy* was a noble Barrier, full of strong Towns, a rich Country that cou'd more than maintain itself by good Management. *Guienne* was equally replenish'd with strong Towns, and from thence came all the Wine the *English* drank in those Days, which they had upon easier terms than we have Beer at present, most of the best Vineyards in *South-France* being then our own: By the Accession of these therefore the Revenues and Power of the *French* King was prodigiously encreas'd, and the *English* might very well expect to be invaded in their turn, and to suffer all those Miseries from the *French* which that Country had formerly suffer'd from the Ravages of the *English* Troops. It is no Wonder therefore if in these Circumstances we find the People of *England* enrag'd to the last Degree. They cou'd not but despise the indolent Administration of a Prince who saw such considerable Parts of his Dominions torn from him without a Struggle, and might well expect to see the rest follow the same Fate, unless there was a Change at Court. It was natural for them to cast their Eyes upon the Duke of *York*, who had so bravely defended *Normandy* while he was Regent there, and to desire he might be at the Head of Affairs to prevent the Invasion of *England*. Accordingly we find

find an Insurrection made by one *Jack Cade* A.D. 145  
 an *Irishman*, who personated Sir *John Mortimer*,  
 Cousin to the Duke of *York*, and declar'd A. 29 H 6.  
 that the principal Reason of his taking up  
 Arms, was to procure the Duke to be recall'd  
 to Court, by whose happy Conduct in *Ireland*,  
 that Country which he found in the utmost  
 Distraction, was reduc'd to a peaceable and  
 flourishing Condition. But to give a more  
 particular Account of *Cade's* Insurrection.

He had by exposing the destructive Measures of the Ministry, made abundance of Malecontents, assembled a prodigious Multitude of People in *Kent*, with whom he encamp'd at *Blackheath* near *Greenwich*, giving himself the Title of *Captain Mendall*. To whom the King sending to demand the Reason of his appearing in Arms, *Cade* sent him a Particular of the Subjects Grievances, relating to the Mismanagement of Publick Affairs, and the Extortions and Oppressions of the Officers and Ministers of Justice; demanding, that the Duke of *Somerset* might be punish'd as one of the Authors of the loss of *Normandy*, and that the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and some others, might be admitted into the Council. But the Court, instead of hearkening to their Complaints, assembled an Army of fourteen or fifteen thousand Men, with which the King march'd in Person to attack the Malecontents. Whereupon their Leader *Cade* thought fit to retire to *Sevenoke* in *Kent*, and the Court return'd to *Westminster*, sending only a Detachment under the Command of Sir *Humphry* and Sir *William Stafford*, to disperse those that remain'd together in a Body, imagining that most of them were retir'd to their several Dwellings ;



A.D. 1450

A. 29 H. 6.

Cade de-  
feats the  
Staffords.

Dwellings. But *Cade* having plac'd his Troops in Ambuscade in the Woods about *Sevenoke*, the Forces commanded by the *Staffords* were surrounded, and most of them either kill'd or taken Prisoners, the two Brothers who commanded them, being kill'd on the Spot. Upon the News of this Success, *Cade* was join'd by still greater Numbers of Malecontents, with which he return'd to *Blackheath*; and the King and Court were so terrified at their Approach, that they retir'd to *Kenelworth-Castle* in *Warwickshire*; and *Cade* advanced, and took up his Quarters in the Borough of *Southwark*; on the first of *July*: The next Day he march'd his Troops over the Bridge into *London*, without any Opposition from the Citizens, keeping his Men under an exact Discipline. He issu'd out his Orders however, as if he had been vested with Sovereign Authority; particularly he commanded *Thomas Cock*, Woollen-Draper; to raise him a Troop of Horse; and the *Genoese* and other *Italian* Merchants; to find Money for this Levy, which was done accordingly, and at Night he retir'd with his People to *Southwark* again. The next Morning, returning into the City, he order'd the Lord *Scales*, Governor of the Tower, to bring the Lord *Say*, the late Treasurer, to *Guildhall* to be tried; who had been committed to the Tower at the instance of the House of Commons; as having concurr'd with the Duke of *Suffolk*; in delivering up *Mans* to the *French*.

*Cade* also took upon him to order the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to assemble at *Guildhall*, in order to sit in Judgment on the Lord *Say*; but his Lordship insisting on being tried by his Peers, *Cade* hurried him from the Bar; and



and struck off his Head at the Standard in *A.D.* 1450  
*Cheapside*. After which he march'd to *Mile-*  
*end* to confer with another Body of Male- 23&29H.6  
 contents from *Essex*, and meeting with Sir *Cade* strikes  
*James Cromer*, who had lately married the off the Lord  
 Lord *Say's* Daughter, in his way, he cut off *Say's* Head.  
 his Head, ordering both that and the Lord  
*Say's* to be carried before him upon Spears.  
 He also plunder'd one of the Aldermen's  
 Houses, and fin'd others who refus'd to obey  
 him; and his Soldiers committed several  
 other Outrages in the City. This gave the  
 People such Apprehensions of being plunder'd,  
 that when *Cade* retir'd into *Southwark*, as  
 usual in the Evening, they determin'd to op-  
 pose his entering the City any more; and  
 sending to the Lord *Scales* to assist them with  
 part of the Garrison of the Tower, they im-  
 mediately began to fortify the Bridge, of The Citi-  
 which the Malecontents having Notice, at- zens re-  
 tack'd the Works, but were repuls'd. This pulse *Cade's*  
 put the Rebels in some Consternation, and Troops at  
 the Bridge.  
 the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancel-  
 lor, taking Advantage of it, caus'd a Pardon  
 to be publish'd under the Great-Seal, for all  
 those that should lay down their Arms. This  
 had such an Effect, that they immediately He is kill'd  
 forsook their Leader and dispers'd, soon after and his  
 which *Cade* being pursu'd to *Hothfield* in *Kent*, Followers  
 and standing on his Defence, was kill'd; his dispers'd.  
 Head was afterwards cut off, and set upon  
*London-Bridge*, and his Quarters dispers'd in  
 several Parts of *Kent*, the first Scene of this  
 Insurrection. There were Insurrections in  
*Essex*, *Wiltshire*, and several other Counties;  
 but upon the Death of *Cade*, the Malecon-  
 tents dispers'd, and retir'd to their Dwell-  
 ings.

A.D. 1450

28 &amp; 29 H. 6

~~~~~

Duke of  
Somerſet  
made  
Prime Mi-  
niſter.

A.D. 1451

29 &amp; 30 H. 6

~~~~~

He iſſues  
out Orders  
againſt the  
Duke of  
York.

Who re-  
turns to  
England to  
juſtify his  
Conduct.

I have already given an Account of the Loſs of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, tho' the *French* did not make themſelves Maſters of the latter till after *Cade's* Rebellion. The Duke of *Somerſet* on his return from *Normandy*, was ſent to the Tower, at the Inſtance of the Houſe of Commons; but the Parliament was no ſooner up, than he was let out and made Prime Miniſter, in the room of *Suffolk*. As the *Somerſet* Family were always implacable Enemies to the Houſe of *York*, he gave out, that the late Rebellion of *Cade's* had been fomented by the Duke of *York*, and that he deſign'd to invade *England* with the Troops under his Command in *Ireland*, and iſſu'd his Orders therefore in the King's Name, to the Sheriffs of *Wales*, and the adjoining Maritime Counties, to oppoſe *York's* landing in *England*, if he attempted it.

The Duke of *York* hereupon wrote to the King, complaining that he ſhould be charg'd with Diſloyalty, while he was engag'd in his Service in the Reduction of *Ireland*, and had never given any Colour to the Court to ſuſpect him, and apprehending he was able to defend his Conduct, he ventur'd to return to *England*, with no other Retinue than ſome few of his own Domeſticks. However upon attempting to land at the uſual Place, he found himſelf oppos'd by arm'd Troops, and was oblig'd to come on Shoar in another part of the Country, that was left unguarded, from whence he repair'd to *London*, in order to juſtify himſelf before the King; but the Court was at that time remov'd from thence into the Weſt of *England*. Whereupon he fell into Conſultation with his Friends on the preſent Poſture of Affairs, and of the Danger

Danger he seem'd to be in, from the Practices of those at the Helm. A.D. 1451

It is much to be question'd whether the Duke of *York* had till now form'd any Design of mounting the Throne, tho' several Writers charge him with being the Author of all the Disturbances that had happen'd of late in *England*, and particularly, that he was at the Head of *Cade's* Insurrection, because *Cade* us'd the Name of *Mortimer*, in order to draw the People after him. But this is to me an Argument that he was not concern'd with *Cade*, for this must naturally give the Court a Jealousy of him, and put them upon Measures to defeat his Designs, if he had any such. 29 & 30 H. 6

It is not improbable indeed, that the Duke of *York* was highly disgusted, when he was turn'd out of the Regency of *France*, to make way for his mortal Enemy the Duke of *Somerset*, and afterwards sent into *Ireland*, in order to be sacrificed there; but still if he could have seen the Duke of *Somerset* dismiss'd from Court, and have liv'd in any sort of Security as a Subject, he would not possibly have made an Attempt upon the Crown. 'Tis true, when he observ'd the King's Forces ready to fall upon him at his landing, and found on his arrival at *London*, that his Ruin was determin'd, he might well apprehend he should never be secure, while the *Lancastrian* Family sat upon the Throne; he enter'd into a Consultation therefore with his Friends, among whom were *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*; *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Salisbury*; *Richard Nevil*, his Son, afterwards Earl of *Warwick*; *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*; and *Edward Brook*, Baron of *Cobham*,  
B b 2
who



*A.D.* 1451 who came to a Resolution, that the Duke of *York* should retire into *Wales* among his Vassals, and if he found he could raise Forces sufficient to protect him, he should endeavour the removal of the Duke of *Somerſet* from Court. The Duke of *York* accordingly having made an estimate of his Strength, represented to the King, that the whole Nation was discontented to see Traytors encouraged and caressed at Court, particularly the Duke of *Somerſet*, who lay under an Impeachment of the House of Commons, and desired he might be brought to Justice. The Court knowing very well the Ferment the Nation was in, and the potent Adherents the Duke of *York* had, thought it not expedient to give him any Pretence for taking up Arms at this time, and therefore answered, that the King really designed to reform what was amiss in the State, to fill his Council with Men of Ability and Integrity; and that neither the Duke of *Somerſet*, or any other Subject, should be protected from Justice, if they were found guilty upon a legal Trial. But the Duke of *York* had now gone too great Lengths to lay down his Arms; he had been raising Men some time, and knew how this would be construed, if he should fall into the Hands of his Enemies. He assembled his Forces therefore, put himself at the Head of them, and advanced towards *London*.

The Duke of *York* marches towards *London*.

*A.D.* 1452

30 & 31 H. 6

The King marches against him.

The Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet* in the mean time had not been idle, they had levied a considerable Army, and taking the King along with them, march'd to encounter the Duke of *York*; but he relying on the Friendship of the *Londoners*, found means to gain a Day's March of the King's Forces, and appeared



pear'd before that City, when to his great *A.D. 1452*  
 Surprize, he found the Gates shut against him. *30 & 31 H. 6*  
 Whereupon he pass'd over the *Thames* at *King-*  
*ston*, and march'd to *Dertford* in *Kent*. The  
 King's Army follow'd him, and encamp'd at  
*Blackheath* beyond *Greenwich*, from whence  
 the King sent two Bishops to the Duke to de-  
 mand the Reason of his appearing in Arms.  
 He answer'd, he had no Intent to throw off  
 his Allegiance; if the King would dismiss from  
 his Councils the Duke of *Somerſet*, who had be-  
 tray'd both his Highness and the Nation by  
 his pernicious Advice, he would readily lay  
 down his Arms. This the King promis'd  
 to do, and immediately order'd *Somerſet* to  
 be apprehended. Whereupon *York* disbanded  
 his Troops, and ventur'd to Court, in order  
 to make good his Charge against his Adver-  
 sary. He affirm'd before the King, that *So-*  
*merſet* had ruin'd the Nation by his Ambi-  
 tion and Avarice, and was going on to give  
 some Instances of it, when on a sudden *So-*  
*merſet* appear'd, who had been conceal'd in  
 the Royal Apartment, and retorted the  
 Charge of Treason upon *York*, declaring he  
 had taken up Arms to dethrone the King.  
 Whereupon the Duke of *York* was taken into  
 Custody. But the King having given his  
 Royal Word for his Security, and it being  
 reported that the Duke's Son had assembled  
 an Army to rescue his Father, the Court  
 thought proper to release him. Whereupon  
 he retir'd again to his Estate of *Wigmore* in  
*Wales*; but before he was discharg'd, the  
 Court oblig'd him to take an Oath to con-  
 tinue faithful to the King, during the rest of  
 his Life, and never take up Arms against  
 him.

The Duke  
 lays down  
 his Arms.

He is com-  
 mitted, but  
 releas'd  
 again.

In

A.D. 1452

30 &amp; 31 H 6

*Guienne* offers to submit to the Obedience of the *English* again.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* recovers *Bordeaux* and several other Towns

A.D. 1453

31 &amp; 32 H 6

The Battel of *Castillon*.

In the mean time the Province of *Guienne* having experienc'd the Tyranny and Insolence of the Governors and Officers set over them by the *French*, would gladly have thrown off that Yoke, and put themselves under the gentle Dominion of the *English* again. They dispatch'd therefore two Noblemen to *London*, to desire that the King would send over a Body of Troops, to assist them in driving out the *French*. The Motion being extremely welcome to the *English* Court, the brave Lord *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, now fourscore Years of Age, was sent to *Guienne* with six or seven thousand Men, to whom the Citizens of *Bordeaux* open'd their Gates, and the *French* Garrison was driven out of the Place. With this small Army the Earl took several Towns; but the Winter coming on, he was forc'd to put his Forces into Winter Quarters. *Charles* the *French* King was at this time in *Dauphine*, with an Army of thirty thousand Men, whither he went to chastise his Son the Dauphin, for some Acts of Undutifulness; but hearing of the Progress that the *English* had made in *Guienne*, and fearing he might lose that Province in as little time as he acquir'd it, he reconcil'd himself to his Son, and detach'd the best part of his Army, under the Command of some experienc'd Generals, to *Guienne*, who on their Arrival there, laid Siege to *Castillon*, a Place of great Importance.

This Town the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was determin'd to relieve, if possible, and attack'd the *French* in their Trenches, tho' they were double his Number. However he was upon the point of carrying them, when another Army appear'd in his Rear, and turn'd the

Fortune.

Fortune of the Day against him; he was kill'd with Sir *John Talbot*, his eldest Son by a second Venter, in the Field of Battel, and his Army entirely defeated. After which *Castillon*, *Bourdeaux*, and the rest of the Towns made the best Terms they could; and were oblig'd to acknowledge *Charles* the French King for their Sovereign again; the *English* Garisons returning home with their Arms and Baggage.

A.D. 1453

31 &amp; 32 H. 6

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* kill'd and *Guienne* lost a second time.

In the same unfortunate Year, on the 23d of *October*, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Son, baptiz'd by the Name of *Edward*, whom the People did not scruple to say was spurious, and the King, tho' at all times weak, was seiz'd with a Distemper that render'd him unfit, even for common Conversation, or to appear in Publick. Whereupon the People began to murmur again, that all things were govern'd by the Queen and the Duke of *Somerfet*, who admitted none but their own Creatures to the Council, or to any Post of Honour or Profit in the Government; and became at length so importunate, that the Queen apprehending a general Insurrection, was in a manner compell'd to take the Duke of *York*, and his two Friends, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* into the Council, in order to appease them. These popular Lords were no sooner admitted, but they gain'd the Ascendant of their Adversaries, excluded the Queen's Friends from the Board, arrested the Duke of *Somerfet* himself in the Queen's Apartment, and sent him to the Tower.

*Edward* Prince of *Wales* born

The King taken ill.

The Parliament met the 15th of *March*, and was held by a Commission directed to the Duke of *York*. The first Business the Commons

A.D. 1454

32 &amp; 33 H. 6



*A.D.* 1454 Commons enter'd upon, was the Impeaching the Duke of *Somerſet*, for ſuffering *Normandy* to be loſt during his Regency. The Earl of *Salisbury* was conſtituted Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of *York* was made Protector of the Realm and Church of *England*, and firſt Counſellor of the Kingdom, till the Prince ſhould arrive at Years of Diſcretion; and in this High Office he was fix'd, as well by the King's Patent, as by Authority of Parliament. Soon after which the Protector took away the Government of *Calais* from the Duke of *Somerſet*, and order'd a Patent to be drawn up, conſerring that Government on himſelf. But no Steps were taken all this Year towards bringing the Duke of *Somerſet* to a Trial on the Impeachment that had been carried up againſt him, for ſurrendring *Normandy* to the *French*.

*A.D.* 1455 The King recovering from his Indiſpoſition in the Year 1455, reſum'd the Government again; the Protector was diſmiſs'd, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Queen's Favourite, being releas'd from his Confinement in the Tower, was plac'd at the Head of the Council again; the Duke of *York* was excluded from any Share in the Adminiſtration, and even the Government of *Calais* taken from him. Theſe Steps were highly reſented by *York*, and it was apprehended, that the Quarrel between him and *Somerſet*, would in the end prove fatal to the State. Some Lords of Diſtinction therefore, who ſtudied the Peace of their Country, perſuaded them to refer their Differences to the Arbitration of ſome of the Biſhops and Temporal Peers, and each of them enter'd into a Bond of twenty thouſand Marks, to ſtand to the Award of the Referees;

*A.D.* 1454  
32 & 33 H. 6  
The Duke of *Somerſet* ſent to the Tower.  
The Duke of *York* made Protector.

*A.D.* 1455  
33 & 34 H. 6  
The Duke of *York* diſmiſs'd and *Somerſet* reſtor'd.

They reſerr'd their Differences to certain Lords.

referees;



ferées; but whether *York* expected no good  
 Issue of this Arbitration, or had Reason to be  
 apprehensive of the Practices of the Queen  
 and *Somerſet* to take him off privately, as  
 they had done the Duke of *Glouceſter* former-  
 ly, he retir'd to *Wales*, where having aſſem-  
 bled his Friends, he enter'd *England* again,  
 attended by the Earls of *Salisbury* and *War-*  
*wick*, at the Head of a formidable Army,  
 and march'd as far as *St. Albans*; to which  
 Place the King and the Duke of *Somerſet* were  
 advanc'd with an Army no leſs numerous, to  
 prevent his joining the Citizens of *London*,  
 who were known to be in his Intereſt. The  
 Duke of *York*, tho' he was not at all terrified  
 at the Approach of the King's Troops, ſent  
 a Meſſage to his Highneſs, to acquaint him,  
 that if he would permit the Duke of *Somerſet*,  
 (who ſtood impeach'd by the Houſe of Com-  
 mons) to be brought to Trial, he was ready  
 to lay down his Arms. But as this Demand  
 was not likely to have any Effect upon the  
 King, who was at this time entirely govern'd  
 by *Somerſet*, and was ſent, more to amuſe the  
 King's Party, than in Expectation it ſhould  
 be comply'd with; *York* drew up his Army  
 in Battalia at the ſame time, and ſtood ready  
 for the Engagement, and his Meſſenger no  
 ſooner return'd, to let him know his Propo-  
 ſal was ſlighted, but the Earl of *Warwick*,  
 who commanded the Van of the *Yorkiſts*,  
 unexpectedly charg'd the King's Troops,  
 and put them in Diſorder, for expecting that  
 the Treaty would have laſted ſome time long-  
 er, the Duke of *Somerſet* was not prepar'd to  
 receive them. The Duke of *York* and the  
 Earl of *Salisbury*, perceiving the Confuſion  
 the King's Troops were in, immediately  
 march'd

A.D. 1455

33 & 34 H. 6

*York* raiſes  
 another  
 Army in  
*Wales*;

The King  
 and *Somer-*  
*ſet* march  
 againſt  
 him.

The firſt  
 Battel of  
*St. Albans*;

A.D. 1455 march'd to support the Earl of *Warwick*, and tho' they were bravely oppos'd by the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Nobility on the King's ſide, yet their Army was in ſuch a Conſternation at the unexpected Charge, that they could never be brought into Order. The *Yorkiſts* obtain'd an eaſy Victory, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Stafford*, and the Lord *Clifford*, with five thouſand of the *Royalists*, were kill'd upon the Spot, and the King himſelf being wounded in the Neck with an Arrow, was carried into a Houſe, to have his Wound dress'd; of which the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury* receiving Advice, came and threw themſelves at his Feet, telling his Highneſs, he had nothing to fear, the great Enemy of the Nation, the Duke of *Somerſet*, was dead, and they were now ready to Obey him in whatever he ſhould Command. To which, 'tis ſaid, the King answer'd, He deſir'd there might be no more Blood ſhed, and he would redreſs whatever was amiſs in the Government. Then the Duke of *York* attended the King to *St. Albans*, and from thence to *London*, ſhewing him as much Reſpect, as if he had been victorious. This was the firſt Battel fought between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, near *St. Albans*, being the 31ſt of *May*, 1455.

The Parliament aſſembled the 9th of *July* afterwards, being held by a Commiſſion, directed to the Duke of *York*, for the King was relaps'd into his former Indispoſition.

The firſt thing they fell upon, was to cenſure the Conduct of the Duke of *Somerſet* and the late Miniſtry, who had abus'd the King's

King's Name to the Destruction of the Nation, and kept him in a kind of Captivity; particularly they condemn'd the Practices that were us'd to take off the Duke of *Gloucester*, and justified the Duke of *York's* taking Arms to procure a Redress of their Grievances, charging *Somerſet* with all the Blood that had been ſpilt, by concealing the Letters which the Duke of *York* ſent to the King in order to prevent the late Troubles. They alſo reſum'd the Crown Lands, and reſtor'd the Duke his Poſt of Protector by Act of Parliament.

A.D. 1455

33 & 34 H6

The Parliament juſtify the Duke of *York's* Conduct.

And now the Duke having obtain'd a Victory over his Enemies, and procur'd a Parliament ſo far devoted to him as to make him Protector of the Kingdom, if ever he had a Deſign to have attempted to reſtore his Family to the Throne one would have thought he ſhould have attempted it in ſuch Circumſtances, or at leaſt that he ſhould have put it out of the Power of the Nobility that were in a different Intereſt to hurt him. On the contrary, neither the Queen or any of the Nobility who had appear'd in Arms againſt him, were put under the leaſt Reſtraint, or any of their Eſtates conſiſcated. But the Duke ſoon found Reaſon to repent his extraordinary Lenity, for the King recovering from his Illneſs, took from him the Protectorſhip again; and the Queen introduc'd ſo many of his Enemies into the Council, that he had no longer any Influence there; whereupon he retir'd with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* into the North of *England*. Soon after which a Tumult happen'd in *London*, occaſion'd by a Quarrel between an *Italian* and an *Engliſhman*; and the King ſending the Duke of *Ex-*

A.D. 1456

34 & 35 H6

The Duke of *York* made Protector.

He is diſmiſs'd from Court again.

A Tumult in the City.



*A.D.* 1456 *eter* to suppress it, and apprehend the principal Rioters, he met with such Opposition from the Citizens that he found it difficult to execute his Commission. The Queen, 'tis said, apprehending that the *Yorkists* had fomented this Insurrection, and that she and her Adherents should be always in Danger while the Duke of *York* and the Heads of that Party were at Liberty, was perpetually contriving how she might get them into her Power. *London* she found was in the Interest of the *Yorkists*, and therefore it would be in vain to make any Attempts against them there. Whereupon she remov'd the Court to *Coventry*, from whence she sent Letters to the Duke of *York* and the two Earls his Friends, sign'd by the King, desiring they would come to him and give him their Advice on some important Occasion; and tho' they could not but be convinc'd that the Queen was their irreconcilable Enemy, they all ventur'd to come to *Coventry*, trusting probably to the Numbers they carried with them for their Protection. But when they found that the Queen had provided a greater Force than usually attended the Court in time of Peace, and receiv'd Advice from some of their Friends that there was a Design against them, they left the Court on a sudden, and escap'd the Snare.

The Queen endeavours to surprize the Duke of *York*, &c. but he Escapes.

*A.D.* 1457 The Duke of *York* retir'd to *Wales*, *Salisbury* into *Yorkshire*, and the Earl of *Warwick* to *Calais* where he was Governor, and remain'd quiet for some time, the Court being taken up in guarding the Coasts against the *French*, who burnt *Sandwich* and some other Places on the South of *England*; or in defending the Borders against the *Scots*, who plunder'd the Northern Counties about the same time. But the

35&36 H6  
The French and Scots insult the English.



the *French* being repuls'd, and the Truce renew'd with the *Scots*, the contending Parties at home began to make fresh Preparations to encounter each other, when some great Men, apprehensive of the fatal Consequences of these Feuds, prevail'd on both Parties to come to *London*, and put their Differences to Arbitration again; and because neither side should be apprehensive of being surpriz'd, each Nobleman was permitted to bring what Troops he pleas'd with him for his Guard, and they were quarter'd with their respective Friends in different parts of the Town; the Duke of *York* and his Party in the City, and the young Duke of *Somerset* and his Friends about *Holborn* and *Temple-Bar*, while Sir *Godfrey Bullain*, the Lord Mayor, went the Rounds every Night with his Militia, consisting of several thousand Men, to preserve the Peace. And tho' some Noblemen had more numerous Guards, we find none so much admir'd as those of the Earl of *Warwick*, consisting of six hundred Men, in Red Coats embroider'd with ragged Staves.

The Parties being thus assembled at *London*, and the Arbitrators chosen, an Award was made on the third of *April*, that each Party should forgive the other all Injuries receiv'd before that time, and that the Duke of *York* and his Friends should be admitted into the Privy Council. Whereupon they all embrac'd and profess'd an everlasting Friendship; and two Days after a Thanksgiving was appointed for this happy Reconciliation; when the great Men of both sides took Hands and march'd in solemn Procession to *St. Paul's*; after whom came the King in Person, follow'd by the Queen leaning on the Duke of *York*,

A.D. 1458

36&amp;37H6

The *Yorkists* and *Lancastrians* submit to another Arbitration.

They take up their Quarters in *London* with their Adherents.

They are reconcil'd in Appearance.

*A.D.* 1458 *York*, and, to outward Appearance, perfectly satisfy'd with this Accommodation. However, the Duke of *York* soon after retir'd into *Yorkshire* with the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of *Warwick* went to *Calais*; but the latter happening to meet with some *Genoese* Ships in his Passage, with whom he had an Encounter, was recall'd to Court to give an Account of his Conduct upon the Complaint of the *Genoese*, who were then in an Alliance with *England*.

The Earl of *Warwick* in Danger of his Life at Court.

The Earl was detain'd several Weeks at *London* in defending this Action; and one Evening as he was going from the Council, there happening a Quarrel between one of the King's Servants and another of the Earl of *Warwick's*, the King's Servants assembled, and having kill'd and wounded several of the Earl's Retinue, fell upon the Earl himself; and it was with Difficulty he escap'd to his Barge, which lay at *Westminster-Stairs*. Soon after he heard an Order was issu'd to commit him to the Tower, which induc'd him to believe that the Court had contriv'd this Tumult on purpose to dispatch him out of the Way. Whereupon he immediately fled into the North, where he had a Conference with the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Result whereof was, that as the Court had e-

*A.D.* 1459

37&38 H6

The *Yorkists* arm again.

vidently an Intention to take them off privately one after another, they should again have recourse to Arms; that the Earl of *Warwick* should return to *Calais* to secure that Fortrefs; and that the Duke of *York* should raise an Army in *Wales*, while *Salisbury* assembled another in the North. The Queen having Intelligence of their Motions, sent ten thousand Men, under the Command of the Lord *Aud-*

ley,

y, to oppose the Earl of *Salisbury*, whom he  
 found with a Body of five or six thousand  
 Men encamp'd on *Borebeath* in *Shropshire*.  
 There being only a small River between the  
 two Armies, and the Earl much inferior in  
 Point of Numbers, immediately decamp'd,  
 and seem'd to march off with Precipitation,  
 which induc'd the Lord *Audley* to pass the  
 River and pursue him without any manner of  
 Order; but the Earl observing their Confu-  
 sion, return'd and charg'd the Lord *Audley*  
 before half his Troops were come over; and  
 thus divided, entirely defeated them, the Lord  
*Audley* himself being kill'd in the Field of  
 Battel.

A.D. 1459

37 &amp; 38 H6

The Battel  
 of *Bore-*  
*beath*. Lord  
*Audley*  
 kill'd.

The Earl of *Salisbury* afterwards pursu'd  
 his March, and join'd the Duke of *York* on  
 the Borders of *Wales*; but what is very sur-  
 prizing, they continu'd there for six or seven  
 Months without entering upon any Action  
 whatever. In the mean time the Queen ha-  
 ving assembled a numerous Army in order to  
 attack the Malecontents, the Duke of *York*  
 sent to the Earl of *Warwick* at *Calais* to come  
 to his Assistance with part of his Garrison,  
 who accordingly brought over a strong De-  
 tachment, which having join'd the Army of  
 the *Yorkists*, they encamp'd near *Ludlow*. On  
 the other hand, the King being advanc'd as  
 far as *Gloucester*, sent and offer'd the *Yorkests* a  
 Pardon on Condition they would lay down  
 their Arms; but it was answer'd, they could  
 not rely on such Pardons which were intended  
 only to ensnare them, as appear'd by the At-  
 tempt made on the Earl of *Warwick* at *Lon-*  
*don*. However, as they had taken up Arms  
 in their own Defence only, if there could be  
 any Means found out to render them secure in  
 their



*A.D.* 1459 their Lives and Fortunes against the Ministry who fought their Destruction, they were ready to lay them down, and desir'd to be esteem'd dutiful Subjects.

The *Yorkists* deserted by their Troops.

These Parleys prov'd of mischievous Consequence to the *Yorkists*. It is probable the Forces under their Command apprehended that their Leaders were making Terms for themselves, and that the Multitude, as is too common, would be left to the Mercy of their Enemies. Whereupon a great Desertion happen'd among their Troops; and even *Andrew Trollop*, who commanded the Detachment from *Calais*, went over in the Night-time to the King's Army. The Chiefs of the Malecontents thereupon thought fit to disperse. The Duke of *York*, with his second Son the Earl of *Rutland*, embark'd for *Ireland*; and the Earl of *March* his eldest Son, with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, went over to *Calais*. The rest of their Army finding their Generals gone, submitted to the King, who caus'd some of the Officers to be put to Death, notwithstanding the Pardon which had been promis'd them. And at a Parliament which was held at *Westminster* in *December* following, the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *March*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with several other Persons of Distinction, were attainted of High Treason, and their Estates confiscated.

The *Yorkists* attainted of High Treason.

This Insurrection being suppress'd, the Queen sent a Body of Troops, under the Command of the Duke of *Somerset*, to endeavour the Recovery of *Calais* out of the Hands of the *Yorkists*, and procur'd him a Commission to be Governor of the Town when he should have taken it. The Duke of *Somerset* made himself Master of the Castle of

*Guines*.



*Guines*, but found he was not strong enough to attack *Calais*; and therefore sent to the Queen for a Reinforcement of Troops, and a Fleet to block up the Town by Sea. Accordingly a Fleet was actually assembled at *Sandwich*, with Land Forces ready to embark: Of which the Earl of *Warwick* receiving Intelligence, sent over a Detachment commanded by Sir *John Denham* to *Sandwich* who surpriz'd the Forces assembled there in the Night-time, while they were asleep; and made the Sailors such advantagious Offers, that they agreed to serve the Earl of *Warwick*, and brought over the Fleet to *Calais* which was intended to block it up.

The Earl of *Warwick* having now a Fleet under his Command, made use of it to convey him to *Ireland*, where he had a Conference with the Duke of *York*, and then return'd to *Calais*. The Duke of *Exeter*, Admiral of the *English* Fleet, had Orders to intercept him; but either finding the Earl too strong, or doubting the Fidelity of his own Officers, thought fit to let him pass unmolested. The Queen suspecting by these Motions that the *Yorkists* design'd her another Visit in *England*, issu'd out Commissions to such Counties as she esteem'd most disaffected for apprehending and trying the Adherents of the Duke of *York* for High Treason, notwithstanding the former Pardon that had been granted them; and several People were put to death who had appear'd most zealous in the Cause of the *Yorkists*: By this Means she propos'd to deter that Party from joining the Duke of *York* if he should attempt to land. But these Prosecutions had a very different Effect; for the *Yorkists* now looking upon their Condition as

A.D. 1460

38 & 39 H6

The Earl of *Warwick* surprizes *Sandwich*.

A Commission issu'd to try the Adherents of the Duke of *York*.

*A.D.* 1460 desperate, began immediately to consult how they might prevent their Destruction. The County of *Kent*, and the City of *London* in particular, which had been always remarkable for their Adherence to the Duke of *York*, expecting to be first made a Sacrifice to their Enemies, sent to the Earl of *Warwick* to bring what Forces he could to their Assistance, and they were unanimously resolv'd to join him as soon as he appear'd. The Earl of *Warwick* hereupon sent over the Lord *Falconbridge*, with a strong Squadron, to the Coast of *Kent*, to concert Measures with the Malecontentents, who encountering Sir *Simon Montfort* that commanded the King's Ships in the Channel, took Sir *Simon* and a great many of his Officers Prisoners, with whom he return'd to *Calais*, after he had visited the Coasts of *Kent*. The Lord *Falconbridge* reporting that a great many of the *Yorkists* had already been executed as Traytors, the Earl of *March* caus'd the Heads of several of the Officers that were taken to be struck off by way of Retaliation for the Sufferings of his Friends in *England*; and understanding how universally disgusted the People were with the Ministry, he embark'd with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and only fifteen hundred Men, and landing at *Sandwich*, march'd directly for *London*, being join'd in his Way by forty thousand Men, and enter'd the City without Opposition. The Queen, who was then at *Coventry*, had sent the Lord *Scales* a little before with a Detachment of her Army to secure *London*, but the Citizens refus'd to open their Gates to him; and all that he could do was, to throw a Reinforcement of Troops into the Tower, of which he was Governor; from whence he annoy'd the Citizens pretty

38&39 H6  
The Peo-  
ple enter  
into a  
Conspira-  
cy there-  
upon.

Invite over  
the *Yorkists*.

The Earl  
of *March*  
lands at  
*Sandwich*,  
and ad-  
vances to  
*London*.

pretty much with his Cannon, but was not <sup>A.D. 1460</sup> able to prevent the *Yorkists* taking Possession of the Town. 38&39H.6

The Queen hereupon began her March from *Coventry* towards *London*, having given the Command of her Army to the young Duke of *Somerſet* and the Duke of *Buckingham*: The Earl of *March* receiving Advice of her Approach, march'd with the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham* at the Head of 25000 Men to meet her, and came in ſight of the Royal Army near *Northampton*: The Queen was ſo confident of Succeſs that ſhe paſs'd a ſmall River that defended her Camp to meet the Enemy, and about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, on the 19th of *July*, the two Armies join'd Battel: The Victory remain'd doubtful for about two Hours, when the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, who commanded Part of the King's Troops, deſerting over to the *Yorkiſts*, turn'd the Fortune of the Day: The Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son to the celebrated *Talbot*, and the Lord *John Beaumont* were kill'd in the Field with ten thouſand more of the Royaliſts, and the King was taken in his Tent; but the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet* eſcap'd out of the Battel and retir'd into the North of *England*. The Battel of Northampton. The Queen defeated. The King taken.

The *Yorkiſts* ſtill gave the King the Reſpect of a Crown'd Head, and attending him to *London*, prevail'd on him to ſummon a Parliament to meet on the ſecond of *October*, and ſent to the Duke of *York* to haſten into *England*, that they might take Advantage of the happy Situation their Affairs were in. In the mean time the King paſs'd ſeveral Acts in favour of his Conquerors. By one he confirm'd the Earl of *Warwick* in the Govern-



*A.D.* 1460 ment of *Calais*; and by another declar'd the Duke of *York* and his Adherents his good and loyal Subjects, as appears by *Rymer*, Vol. II. p. 460, &c. The *Scots* hoping to make some Advantage of the Civil Wars in *England*, enter'd the *English* Borders, and laid siege to *Roxburgh*, where *James II.* was kill'd by the bursting of one of his own Cannon; however his Queen carried on the Siege afterwards and took the Town. *Charles VII.* King of *France* died the same Year, on the 22d of *July*. He was so much afraid of being poison'd by the Practices of the Dauphin his Son, that he refus'd to take any Nourishment for 7 or 8 Days, and at length when he wou'd have eaten he cou'd not; so that he was in reality starv'd to Death in the 60th Year of his Age.

King of  
Scots kill'd  
at *Roxburgh*

*Charles 7*  
King of  
*France* dies.

The Duke  
of *York*  
lays his Ti-  
tle before  
the Parlia-  
ment.

The Parliament of *England* assembling the 2d of *October*, the Duke of *York* arriv'd a Day or two afterwards, and went immediately to the House of Peers, and going up to the Throne, laid his Hand upon it, in expectation, say our Historians, that the House wou'd have immediately declar'd him King and plac'd him in it; but observing nothing in the House that tended that way, he retir'd in some Confusion; and the next Day having order'd his Claim to the Crown to be drawn up in Writing and engross'd, sent it to the Parliament, wherein he shews that he was the Son and Heir of *Anne*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philippa* the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the 3d Son of King *Edward III.* whereas *Henry* was descended from *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, the 4th Son of *Edward III.* adding that he wou'd



wou'd not desire the Crown unless his Title was indisputable, A.D. 1460

Whereupon the Lords, with the Duke's Consent, order'd the King's Council to attend and make Objections to this Title, if they had any : The Council thereupon appear'd and objected, 38&39H6  
Objections made to the Duke of York's Title.

1. That the Lords and the Duke himself had taken the Oaths to King *Henry*.

2. That several Acts of Parliament had been made which extinguish'd the Duke's Title.

3. That other Acts had entail'd the Crown on the Heirs of *Henry IV*.

4. That the Duke of *York* bore the Arms of *Edmund of Langley*, 5th Son of *Edward III*. from whom he was descended by the Male Line, and not the Arms of *Lionel* the 3d Son.

5. That *Henry IV*. claim'd the Crown as Right Heir of *Henry III*. and not as Heir to *Edward III*.

To these Objections the Duke reply'd,

1. That no Oath ought to be perform'd when it tended to the Suppression of Truth and Right. The Objections answer'd by the Duke.

To the 2d and 3d, That he knew of no Acts that limited the Succession of the Crown to *Henry IV*, and his Heirs, unless some that were made by the Wrong-doer himself ; and if he had had a Right to the Crown he needed no such Acts. To the 4th, That he was entitled to bear the Arms of the Duke of *Clarence*, but he forbore it for a Time, as he did his Claim to the Crown, for Reasons they could not be ignorant of.

As to the 5th, It was a manifest Untruth, and only alledg'd by *Henry IV*. to give some Colour to his Usurpation,

The

A.D. 1460

38 &amp; 39 H. 6

The Determination of the Parliament as to the Right of the two Kings.

The Parliament having debated the Objections and Answers, came to the following Resolution, which was pass'd into an Act, *viz.* That King *Henry* should enjoy the Title and State of a King during his Life; that the Duke of *York* should be acknowledg'd Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the King's Person and Dominions. And if King *Henry* or his Adherents should endeavour to defeat the Execution of this Act, the Duke should immediately be advanc'd to the Throne, for they acknowledged the Right to be in the Duke of *York* at present, tho' for Peace Sake and to avoid the shedding of Blood, he had consented that *Henry* should enjoy the State of a King during his Life.

As the Duke of *York*'s Moderation appear'd in his acquiescing to this Agreement when he had a victorious Army, and a Parliament that would have made very little Scruple in declaring him King immediately if he had insisted on it, so *Henry*'s Tranquility was no less admir'd; for this Resolution made no Alteration in him; he said his Prayers and sign'd such Acts of State as were brought him with the same readiness as when he was under the Direction of the Queen and the Duke of *Somerfet*: And among these the Duke of *York* persuaded him to sign one, requiring the Queen to repair to him at *London*: But she did not think fit to obey it, and put herself into the Hands of her Enemies. On the contrary, she was busy in *Scotland* and the North of *England*, levying Forces to restore her Affairs, where Soldiers of Fortune and necessitous People resorted to her in great Numbers, on her Promise that she would give them the Plunder of all that Part of *England*

The Queen raises Forces in the North.

*land* that lay South of *Trent*. The Duke of *AD. 1460*  
*York* receiving Advice that the Queen was as-  
sembling an Army again, left the Care of the  
City to the Earl of *Warwick*, and accompa-  
ny'd by the Earl of *Salisbury*, march'd towards  
the North with five thousand Men only, or-  
dering his Son the Earl of *March* to assemble  
the rest of the Army that was quarter'd on the  
Borders of *Wales* and the West of *England*,  
and follow him; but to his great Surprise  
when he came near *Wakefield*, he understood  
that the Queen's Forces were 18 or 20,000  
strong, and so near him that it would be dif-  
ficult for him to retire; whereupon he threw  
his little Army into the Castle of *Sandall*, de-  
termining to wait there the coming up of the  
Army commanded by the Earl of *March*;  
but the Castle not being stor'd with Provisi-  
ons sufficient for so great a Body of Men, and  
the Queen appearing before it, he thought it  
most advisable to endeavour to break through  
her Forces before they were entrench'd, and not  
suffer himself to be besieg'd in form, knowing  
he should be forc'd to surrender in a few Days  
for want of Provisions. Accordingly he sal-  
lied out of the Castle on the last Day of *De-*  
*cember*; but being surrounded by the Enemy  
as he endeavour'd to force his Way over  
*Wakefield Green*, he was kill'd in the Encoun-  
ter, and his Army defeated. His Son the Earl  
of *Rutland* being about 12 Years of Age, fled  
with his Governor; but being overtaken  
by the Lord *Clifford*, was stabb'd to the  
Heart to revenge his Father, who was kill'd  
in the Battel of *St. Alban's*. Many more did  
this Lord kill with his own Hand that Day  
in Cold Blood, from whence he was afterwards  
stil'd *The Butcher*. He cut off the Duke of  
*York's* Head also, and fixing it on a Spear,  
crown'd

38 &amp; 39 H6

The Duke  
of York  
marches a-  
gainst her.

The Battel  
of Wake-  
field.

The Duke  
of York  
kill'd.

A.D. 1460 crown'd it with a Paper Crown, and present-  
 ed it to the Queen, who order'd it to be set  
 upon the Walls of *York*: The Earl of *Salis-*  
 bury being wounded and made Prisoner in the  
 Battel, was carried to *Pontefræst*, where his  
 Head was struck off, and afterwards set up  
 near the Duke of *York's*.

38&39H6  
 Earl of  
*Salisbury*  
 beheaded.

Some Re-  
 marks on  
 the Duke  
 of *York's*  
 Conduct.

Thus we have seen the Duke of *York*, af-  
 ter he had possess'd himself of the Regal  
 Power (tho' not the Title of King) and had an  
 Army abundantly sufficient to have subdu'd  
 his Enemies, the King in his Power, and a  
 Parliament ready to enact whatever he shou'd  
 dictate, only for want of good Intelligence,  
 precipitated from that Height of Grandeur,  
 and ruin'd in a Moment. Various Conjec-  
 tures have been made on his neglecting to  
 take upon him the Title of King after the  
 Victory at *Northampton*: But the Reason he  
 did not, seems to be because he thought the  
 Title of Regent or Protector wou'd be less  
 envy'd than that of King; and as he had pos-  
 sess'd himself of the Sovereign Power, it was  
 not very material under what Title he enjoy'd  
 it, especially when he had secur'd the Crown  
 to his Posterity. The Change in this Case was  
 no more than a Change of the Ministry: All  
 things were transacted in King's *Henry's* Name,  
 while the Queen and *Somerſet* were at the Helm,  
 and so they were when the Duke of *York*  
 had the Administration, which he appre-  
 hended perhaps might be more agreeable to  
 many that were in the *Lancastrian* Interest  
 than the deposing *Henry*, and placing himself  
 in the Throne. He might propose also the  
 accomplishing his Ends by insensible De-  
 grees: He had already possess'd himself  
 of the Regency; and as he hoped to  
 establish his Authority by Acts of Popularity,  
 when



when he had gained the Peoples Affections he was conscious they wou'd not be backward in complimenting him with the Title of King: In his whole Conduct he seems to have avoided the Use of Force as much as possible, looking upon it perhaps that a Prince who does not reign in the Hearts as well as over the Persons of his Subjects is of all Men the most unhappy, ever liable to Plots and Conspiracies against his Person and Government, never free from anxious Cares and Fears, and not knowing whom to confide in.

The Duke perfectly understood the Arts of War and Government. He had shewn himself an accomplish'd General and an excellent Governor both in *France* and *Ireland*, and no doubt but his Administration wou'd have been as acceptable to the *English*, if he had not been cut off when he was just arriv'd at the Height of his Wishes. The greatest Blemish to his Memory in the Opinion of some is his taking up Arms against King *Henry*, when he had so often and so solemnly sworn Allegiance to him: but if it be really true that the Court were ever contriving to cut him off, and to extirpate the House of *York*; (as he had otherwise an indubitable Right to the Crown) all the Oaths he had taken seem to be cancell'd; for when he swore to the Government, it must always be suppos'd; he submitted with a View of being protected as a Subject: He would never have taken the Oaths to that Family had he foreseen them bent upon his Destruction. The Duke was about fifty Years of Age when he was kill'd. His Body was interr'd first at *Pontefract*, and afterwards in the Cathedral Church of *Fotheringay*.

A.D. 1460

38 &amp; 39 H. 6

The Earl  
of March  
defeats the  
Earl of  
Pembroke  
near Mortimer's-  
Cross.

The Earl of *March* (now Duke of *York*) was in *Wales* when he receiv'd Advice of the Death of his Father, and the Defeat at *Wakefield*; and having assembled his Army, consisting of twenty four thousand Men, he march'd at the Head of them towards *London*, when he understood that *Jasper Tudor*, Earl of *Peubroke* was advancing after him; whereupon he turn'd back, and encountering the Earl near *Mortimer's-Cross* in *Herefordshire*, defeated his Army, taking his Brother (or as others affirm the Earl's Father) *Owen Tudor* Prisoner, whose Head the Duke order'd to be struck off, as the Queen had the Earl of *Salisbury's* just before.

The Queen  
defeats the  
Earl of  
*Warwick*  
near *St. Alban's*.

The Queen in the mean time march'd with the utmost Diligence towards *London*, imagining that the Citizens wou'd have open'd their Gates to her on the Approach of her victorious Troops, and have expell'd the Earl of *Warwick*; but the Earl advanc'd to meet her as far as *St. Alban's*, where the two Armies engaging, *Warwick's* was defeated, tho' the Earl had the good Fortune to make his Retreat with a good Body of his Forces, and join the young Duke of *York*. The Queen afterwards beheaded several Persons of Distinction in cold Blood, and among the rest the Lord *Bonville* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, who had the Care of King *Henry's* Person committed to them, notwithstanding they staid with the King at his Request, and he had promis'd them a Pardon when they were about to make their Escape out of the Field with the Earl of *Warwick*. After this Battel the Queen gave the Plunder of *St. Alban's* to her Northern Army, who insisted upon it as their Due from the Promises the Queen had made them when

*St. Alban's*  
plunder'd  
by the  
Queen's  
Troops.

when they enter'd into her Service ; but this so terrified the Citizens of *London*, that they resolv'd to oppose her to the utmost of their Power, and when the Mayor was about to send her a great Quantity of Provisions which she demanded, the Citizens stopp'd the Carriages at the Gates.

In the mean time the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Warwick* being superiour to the Queen in the Number of their Forces, advanc'd so fast towards her, that she abandon'd her Design upon the City, and retreated with Precipitation into the North of *England* again. Whereupon the *Yorkists* continued their March to *London*, where the Citizens receiv'd them with open Arms: They were the more welcome to the Citizens, as they had expected for some time to be plunder'd by the Queen's Northern Troops.

The Queen  
retires into  
the North.

The next Day the Army being drawn up in the Fields, on the North side of the Town, the Earl of *Warwick* declar'd, that King *Henry's* Adherents having violated the late Act of Succession, the Crown was thereby devolv'd on the Duke of *York*, and demanded if they would recognize him for their King, to which the Army answer'd in the Affirmative, and with loud Acclamations proclaim'd him their Sovereign. Then the Earl of *Warwick* assembled a grand Council, consisting of the Nobility, Magistrates, Gentlemen, and Citizens of any Figure about Town, and propos'd the same Question to them, who concurr'd with the Army, and address'd the Duke to accept the Crown, which after a modest Refusal, on Account of

*Edward*  
Duke of  
*York* recog-  
niz'd King,  
and *Henry*  
depos'd.



A.D. 1461 his Youth, he at length consented to. Then the whole Assembly went in a solemn Procession to *St. Paul's*, and *Te Deum* was sung, after which the new King went to *Westminster-Hall*, where being seated on a Throne, with *St. Edward's Scepter* in his Hand, it was again demanded of the People, if they would have him for their King, which being answer'd in the Affirmative, he went in Procession to the Abby, and having receiv'd the Homages of the Nobility present, return'd to *London*, and the next Day, being the 5th of *March*, was proclaim'd King, by the Name of *Edward IV.* in several Parts of the Town. And here our Historians ending the Reign of *Henry VI.* I shall, according to Custom, enquire into his Character, tho' he was again restor'd to his Throne for a short time, and liv'd twelve Years after the Accession of *Edward IV.*

*Henry VI*  
his Person  
and Character.

King *Henry* was tall, slender, and well proportion'd, nor did he want good Features; but in all the Portraits we have of him, there is a remarkable Simplicity, or rather Stupidity, in his Looks; and by his Conduct, through the whole Course of his Reign, one would be tempted to think he was a mere Idiot, void of Passion, and void of Common Sense; ever govern'd by those about him, and making no Distinction between Friends and Foes, or between Prosperity and Adversity, insomuch that his Reign might more properly be still'd, *The Reign of his Ministers*, than his own. This is the most favourable Character can be given of him, for if we allow him a Grain of Understanding, he must be acknowledg'd one of the worst of Men,



Men, guilty of breaking the most solemn Contracts, guilty of the Murder of some of his nearest Relations and best Subjects, particularly of the Duke of *Gloucester*; one Day signing Acts and Orders for attainting and executing his Enemies, and a very little after, issuing the like Orders against his Friends. He seems to have had some Notion of the other World, but very little of this; he pray'd without ceasing, in a literal Sense, perform'd the severest Penances, and was very abstemious, but was little concern'd at the Murders and Devastations daily committed in his Kingdom, provided his own Person was secure. Some considerable Religious Foundations indeed are ascrib'd to him, particularly *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, with its magnificent Chapel, and the College of *Eaton* near *Windsor*; but these he was probably busied in, by some of his Courtiers, that he might have no Leisure to enquire into their Conduct. His Queen *Margaret* also founded *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, by way of Attonement or Composition with Heaven, possibly for innumerable Crimes of the deepest die.

Religious  
Foundations  
in this  
Reign.

In the same Reign *Henry Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded the Colleges of *All Souls* and *Bernards* in *Oxford*: And *William Wanslete*, Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellor, founded *St. Mary Magdalens-College* in *Oxford*.

His Title was no better than his Grandfather's *Henry IV.* unless his long Possession added to his Right.

His Title.

He married *Margaret*, Daughter of *Reyner Duke of Anjou*, and titular King of *Jerusalem*, His Marriage and Issue.

*rusalem, Sicily, and Arragon, who being taken Prisoner at the Battel of Tewksbury, the French King some Years afterwards purchas'd her Liberty for fifty thousand Crowns, and she died in France. The King had one Son by her, nam'd Edward, who was assassinated after the Battel of Tewksbury.*

Statutes  
pass'd in  
this Reign.  
Convoca-  
tion.

The most remarkable Statutes pass'd in this Reign, were,

The 8 *Hen. 6. Cap. 1.* Enacting, That the Clergy of the Convocation should enjoy the same Privileges as Members of Parliament.

Knights of  
Shires.

The 8 *Hen. 6. Cap. 7.* and the 10 *Hen. 6. Cap. 2.* Enacting, That all Knights of Shires should be resident in the Counties, for which they were elected to serve in Parliament, and should be seiz'd of Freehold Lands or Tenements of the Value of forty Shillings *per Ann.* and that if any Sheriff should return a Knight not so qualified, he should forfeit one hundred Pound; and that no Person should be admitted to Vote at such an Election, who was not seiz'd of forty Shillings, *per Ann.* Freehold.

Juries.

The 8 *Hen. 6. Cap. 29.* That Juries should be one half Foreigners, where an Alien was a Party.

Stews.

The 11 *Hen. 6. Cap. 1.* That no Person dwelling in the Stews in *Southwark* should be of a Jewry, or keep any Inn or Tavern elsewhere.

Justices of  
Peace.

The 18 *Hen. 6. Cap. 11.* That no Person should act as Justice of the Peace, who was not seiz'd of Lands to the Value of twenty Pounds *per Ann.*

The

The 20 *Hen. 6. Cap. 9.* That a Baroneſs Baroneſs. ſhould be tried as a Peer.

The 23 *Hen. 6. Cap. 8.* That no Man Sheriff. ſhould be Sheriff or Under Sheriff, more than one Year.

The 23 *Hen. 6. Cap. 16.* Contains the Me- Members  
thod of electing Members to ſerve in Parlia- of Parlia-  
ment, and a Penalty on return Officers ma- ment.  
king falſe Returns.

The 31 *Hen. 6. Cap. 1.* Enacts, That *Cade.*  
*John Cade* be adjudg'd a Traytor, and all  
Acts done by him to be void.

39 *Hen. 6. Cap. 7.* Enacts, That there Attornies.  
ſhall be but fix Attornies in *Norfolk*, fix in  
*Suffolk*, and two in *Norwich*.

In this Reign the *Engliſh* ſeem to have Searches  
made great Search after the *Philoſophers-Stone*, after the  
and a certain *Elixir Vitæ*; being a Draught *Philoſophers*  
compos'd to prolong Life, and cure all In- Stone and  
firmities and Diſeaſes. We find ſeveral Pa- the *Elixir*  
tents in *Rymer's Acts of State*, empowering *Vitæ* in  
People to go on in theſe Searches, notwith- this Reign.  
ſtanding former Statutes againſt the endea-  
vouring to find out the *Philoſophers-Stone*,  
the Transmutation of Metals, &c. Nor  
were the *Engliſh* the only People that imagin'd  
they had found out *The Grand Elixir of Life*,  
the *Chineſe* compoſe a Draught, which they  
call *The Immortal Liquor*, and tho' they ſee  
thoſe that drink it die every Day, they ſtill  
believe ſuch a Draught may be compos'd as  
to render them immortal, and that it is only  
the over looking ſome Ingredient in the  
Recipe, that Occaſions its failing in any  
Inſtance. See the *Modern Hiſtory of China*,  
Vol. I.

Taxes.

Taxes were very frequent in this Reign, either to maintain the War in *France*, or suppress Insurrections at home; but we find a Land Tax in the 29th of *Hen. 6.* proportion'd to the Circumstances of the Subject, a Person who had not above 20 *l. per Ann.* was to pay 6 *d.* in the Pound; he who had above 20 *l.* a Year and under 200, was to pay 12 *d.* in the Pound; and every Person seiz'd of Lands to the Value of 200 *l. per Ann.* and upwards, was to pay 2 *s.* in the Pound.

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C H A P.







EDWARD. IV.



CHAP. XXVI.

*Contains the Reign of EDWARD IV.*

**E**DWARD IV. was about twenty A.D. 1461  
 Years of Age when he ascended the A. 1 Ed. 4<sup>th</sup>  
 Throne, and was scarce seated in it when he King Edward march'd against Queen Margaret.  
 was oblig'd to take the Field to defend his  
 Possession, *Margaret*, King *Henry's* Queen,  
 had been so successful in levying Troops in  
 the North, that she had on a sudden increas'd  
 her Army to sixty thousand Men; against  
 whom *Edward*, accompanied by the Earl of  
*Warwick*, march'd, with an Intention to give  
 her Battel, and being arriv'd at *Pontfract* in  
*Yorkshire*, order'd the Lord *Fitz-Walter* to  
 post himself with a strong Detachment at  
*Ferrybridge* upon the River *Aire*, to secure the  
 Passage of their Troops, which he effected;  
 but his Troops were afterwards defeated and  
 driven from thence by the Lord *Clifford*,  
*Fitz-Walter* himself being kill'd in the Fight.  
 As this was a Post of great Importance, the  
 Earl of *Warwick* sent another Body of Troops,  
 under the Command of his Brother the Lord  
*Falconbridge*, to endeavour the Recovery of  
 it, who so well executed his Commission, that  
 the Lord *Clifford* was routed and kill'd in the  
 Pursuit.

The next Day being *Palm-Sunday* (the The Battel of Towton.  
 29th of *March*) King *Edward* having pass'd  
 the River, offer'd the Enemy Battel, tho'  
 their Army was twenty thousand Men strong-  
 er than his own, but there happening a thick  
 Flight of Snow at the time the Armies en-  
 gag'd, which was driven by the Wind into  
 the Faces of the *Lancastrians*, prov'd a great  
 Vo L. XVIII. F f Disadvantage

*A.D.* 1461 Disadvantage to them; however the Battel was obstinately fought from ten in the Morning till almost Evening, being near ten Hours before the Fate of the Day was determin'd; but at length Victory declar'd for the young King, and the Slaughter of the Vanquish'd was exceeding great, as he had order'd no Quarter to be given, in consideration that the Enemy exceeded him so much in Numbers, the Rivulet of *Wherf*, 'tis said, was died with the Blood of the Slain, near thirty-seven thousand Men perishing in this Action, among whom were the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Wells*, Sir *John Nevil*, and the famous Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who formerly deserted the *Yorkists*; and the Earl of *Devon*, with several other Persons of Distinction, were made Prisoners. This Fight obtain'd the Name of *The Battel of Towton*, from a Village near which it was fought. King *Henry* and Queen *Margaret* who were at *York*, hearing of the defeat of their Troops, retir'd to *Berwick*. Whereupon *Edward* advanc'd to *York*, and finding his Father's and the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Heads still upon the Walls, order'd them to be taken down, and the Heads of the Earl of *Devonshire*, and of some other *Lancastrian* Lords, which were struck off after the Battel, to be set up in their places. After which King *Edward* having reinforc'd the Garrisons on the Borders of *Scotland*, return'd to *London* on the 8th of *June*, and was crown'd at *Westminster* the 28th of the same Month, after which he endeavour'd to cultivate a Friendship with the Court of *Scotland*; but the Treaty came to nothing, they were already engag'd in the Interest of King *Henry* and Queen

*A.D.* 1461*A. 1 Ed. 4.*Numbers  
of the Slain



Queen *Margaret*, who offer'd to marry Prince *Edward* their Son to the King of *Scots* Sister. *A.D. 1461*  
Whereupon *Edward* encourag'd Earl *Douglas*, *A. 1 Ed. 4.*  
and some other disaffected *Scotish* Lords, in a *Edward*  
confederacy against their Sovereign, and a foment  
Treaty was sign'd by *Edward* and the Male- Divisions  
contents, whereby the latter stipulated to as- in *Scotland*.  
sist him in the Conquest of *Scotland*; but I  
don't find this Treaty was of any Service to  
him, there being no Insurrection in that King-  
dom in pursuance of it.

In the mean time the Parliament assembling at *Westminster* on the 4th of *November*, The Par-  
all the Acts made in Prejudice of *Richard II.* liament re-  
and his Issue, were repeal'd, *Henry IV.* was peal all  
declar'd an Usurper, who had intruded him- Acts a-  
self into the Government, and contrary to gainst the  
the Laws of God and Man, and his own *Yorkists*.  
Oath of Fealty, had barbarously tortur'd and  
murder'd his Sovereign *Richard II.*

They further declar'd that King *Edward IV* Declare  
was lawful and rightful King from the time *Edward*  
of his Father's Death, and that the three King and  
*Henrys* had held the Crown by Intrusion and the three  
Usurpation. *Henrys*  
Usurpers.

That the Amotion of *Henry VI.* from the  
Exercise of the Government was lawful, and  
that the Grants and Acts made by the three  
*Henrys*, or by their pretended Parliaments  
were void, except such as were confirm'd by  
the present Parliament.

In this Parliament also, the Earl of *Oxford*, Attainders  
and *Aubery de Vere* his Son, with several others  
who had been taken in Rebellion, were at-  
tainted of High Treason, and the Earl and  
his Son were afterwards beheaded. And as  
several noble Families were attainted, so  
there were others advanc'd, Prince *George*

*A.D. 1452* the King's Brother was created Duke of *Clarence*, and *Richard* his other Brother, Duke of *Gloucester*; the Lord *Falconbridge* was created Earl of *Kent*; *Henry Bouchier*, the King's Uncle, Earl of *Essex*; and *John Nevil*, Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*; Lord *Montague*. And now King *Edward* appearing to be settled on his Throne, the Pope, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and several Foreign Princes, complimented him on his Accession. The Duke of *Somerset* also, and *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, came in and acknowledg'd King *Edward*'s Title, and thereupon had a Pardon, and their Estates and Honours restor'd them. And the King being sensible what an Influence the Clergy had on the Kingdom, did all that lay in his Power to gain their Esteem. He even exempted them from the Jurisdiction of the Temporal Courts in all Cases whatever.

The King  
indulgent  
to the  
Clergy.

*A.D. 1453* Queen *Margaret* in the mean time went to *France*, where she prevail'd upon *Lewis XI.* her near Kinsman, to permit her to retain five or six hundred Voluntier Gentlemen in her Service, with whom she return'd to *Scotland*, but several of them were cast away in their Passage thither. However this did not discourage her, for having levy'd an Army of *English* and *Scots*, she once again enter'd the *English* Borders, and was join'd by the Duke of *Somerset* and *Percy*, who had but just before been pardon'd by King *Edward*. A Body of Troops was thereupon sent down into the North to oppose them, under the Command of the Lord *Montague*, who encountering a Detachment of the *Lancastrians* commanded by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Ross*, entirely defeated them, in which Engagement

*A. 3 Ed. 4.*  
Queen  
*Margaret*  
levies an  
Army and  
invades  
*England*.

Sir *Ralph Percy* was kill'd. The Lord *Montague* afterwards advanc'd and attack'd their main Army which was encamp'd near *Hexham*, where he obtain'd a compleat Victory. The Duke of *Somerset*, the Lords *Rofs* and *Hungerford*, were made Prisoners, and soon after beheaded ; but King *Henry* and his Queen escap'd into *Scotland*.

A.D. 1463

A.3 Ed.4.

Her Forces are defeated by the Lord *Montague*.

Upon *Montague's* Return to *London*, the King created him Earl of *Northumberland*, in Consideration of the Services he had done him in the last two Battels ; and the Lord *William Herbert*, who had also serv'd the *York* Interest with great Fidelity and Application, was made Earl of *Pembroke* : And now the *French* and *Scots*, seeing all their Efforts to restore King *Henry* ineffectual, enter'd into a Truce with King *Edward*. In the mean time *Henry* and *Margaret* finding themselves abandon'd by the Court of *Scotland*, thought fit to leave that Country. *Henry* endeavour'd to conceal himself in *Lancashire*, but was soon discover'd by his Enemies, and committed to the Tower of *London*. Queen *Margaret*, with Prince *Edward* her Son, found Means to get over into *France*, and were entertain'd for some time by her Father *Rene* of *Anjou*. The young Duke of *Somerset* and the Duke of *Exeter* fled to *Flanders*, where they conceal'd their Quality, lest they should be deliver'd up by the Duke of *Burgundy* ; and the Duke of *Exeter*, 'tis said, serv'd that Prince as a Footman some Years, so low were the House of *Lancaster* and their Adherents reduc'd at this time.

Creations.

King *Henry* taken and sent to the Tower.

His Queen and Son escape into *France*.

A.D. 1464

A.4 Ed. 4.

King *Edward* studies the Welfare of his Subjects.

And now King *Edward* enjoying a perfect Calm, apply'd himself with all imaginable Diligence to render his Subjects easy and happy.



A.D. 1464. py. He pardon'd all those who had appear'd  
 in Arms against him, who would accept the  
 Grace. He sat in Person in the Courts at  
 Westminster, and saw Justice duly administer'd,  
 restraining the Oppressions and Extortions of  
 his Officers, who, during the late Times of  
 Confusion, had taken great Liberties. And  
 observing the People were frequently impoverish'd  
 by affecting Habits and Equipages much beyond  
 their respective Qualities and Fortunes, especially  
 in Silks, Gold and Silver Lace, and Furs of Foreign  
 Growth and Product, he provided sumptuary  
 Laws to lessen their Expences, and prohibited  
 several Foreign Manufactures destructive to our  
 own, while he encouraged and regulated those of  
 England. But one of the most ridiculous Extravagancies  
 of those Days was in their Shoes and Boots, the  
 Toes whereof were made so long and troublesome,  
 as hindred the People's walking about their  
 Business; insomuch that they were oblig'd to have  
 a Silver Chain from the Toe to the Knee to hold  
 them up: We find an Act of Parliament in the  
 Statute-Book, made on Purpose to restrain the  
 making or wearing such Shoes or Boots. But  
 what gain'd most upon the People, and what  
 will ever render a Prince belov'd by the English,  
 was, his unparallell'd Condescension and affable  
 Behaviour to all Mankind. As he had a very  
 engaging Address, he convers'd with the meanest  
 of his Subjects as his Friends and Acquaintance.  
 He did not look upon the lower Class of Men  
 as of another Species, or imagine a haughty Mien  
 and insolent Behaviour the properest Method to  
 support his Character. He knew how to preserve  
 a Respect for his Person, while he convers'd  
 familiarly.

Skreens  
 them from  
 Oppression

Provides  
 sumptuary  
 Laws.

Encourages  
 Trade.



miliarly. And these Condescensions, 'tis observ'd, were of great Advantage to him afterwards when he was driven from his Throne; tho' his Complaisance for the Ladies had a quite different Effect. His Passion for that Sex frequently made him forget his Dignity as well as his Interest, and disoblige the great Lords of his Court by too intimate a Conversation with their Wives or Daughters. To divert him from this vagrant way of Life, and that he might not want Heirs to succeed him, several Matches were propos'd to him by his Friends; first with a Princess of *Scotland*, whereby he might secure that Kingdom against his Competitor King *Henry*; but the Lady not being above 6 or 7 Years of Age, and no Prospect of Issue there for a considerable time, that Motion was rejected. Then a Prince of *Castile* was propos'd, an Alliance with that Crown being look'd upon as the readiest way to recover *Aquitain*, which lay contiguous to it; but this Princess was found to be sickly, and by no Means a proper Companion for a Monarch in the Vigour of his Youth. At last the Lady *Bona*, Princess of *Savoy* and Sister to the *French* Queen, in whose Court she resided, being deem'd every way suitable, the Earl of *Warwick* was sent to the Court of *France* to demand her in Marriage, and at the same time to conclude an Alliance with *Lewis* the *French* King; but this Treaty was so long negotiating, that King *Edward* found himself another Mistress in the mean time, the beautiful Lady *Grey*, Widow of Sir *John Grey* of *Groby*, who was kill'd in Arms against *Edward* at the Battel of *St. Albans*, and his Estate confiscated; whereupon upon his Lady was oblig'd to return home to her

A.D. 1464

A. 4 Ed. 4.

Several Matches propos'd to Edward.

He treats of a Marriage with the French Queen's Sister.

*A.D.* 1464 her Mother *Jaquelina* of *Luxemburgh*, the  
*A. 4 Ed. 4.* Relict of the late Duke of *Bedford*, Regent  
 of *France*, who had married Sir *Richard Woodville* after the Duke's Death, and by him had Issue the Lady *Grey* above-mentioned, and several other Children.

*A.D.* 1465 King *Edward*, it seems, happening to hunt  
 in the Manor of *Grafton*, belonging to the Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, after the Chase was over,  
*A. 5 Ed. 4.* went and din'd with the Dutcheſs, where the  
 Lady *Grey* being at Table, and addreſs'd by the King with his uſual Gallantry, took that Opportunity of begging him to reſtore part of her Huſband's Eſtate. The young Monarch, who at firſt intended only to divert himſelf with a little Raillery, was on a ſudden ſo captivated with the beautiful Petitioner, that he could deny her nothing. Her Huſband's Eſtate, and whatever elſe ſhe could aſk, he was ready to confer upon her to purchaſe the laſt Favour, as he found means to let her know before he left her Mother's Palace: But ſuch was the Lady's Virtue, or ſo ſure ſhe was of her Conqueſt, that the greateſt and moſt agreeable Prince in *Europe*, in the Bloom of Youth, could not prevail on her to ſurrender on any other Terms than honourable Marriage, which he ſoon conſented to ſubmit to; tho' he had all the Reaſon in the World to apprehend it would be attended with ſome ill Conſequences: For the Earl of *Warwick* had juſt concluded the Treaty with *France*, one Article whereof was, That *Edward* ſhould marry the Lady *Bona*, the Queen's Siſter, by which it was propos'd to deprive his Rival King *Henry* of the Aſſiſtance of King *Lewis*, who had hitherto eſpous'd that Intereſt.

The

The Dutcheſs of *York*, King *Edward's* Mother, did not fail to repreſent on this Occaſion, that *Edward* would infallibly make the *French* King his Enemy, and diſguſt the Earl of *Warwick*, who was concern'd in that Negotiation ; but the King was ſo blinded with his Paſſion for the Lady *Grey*, our Hiſtorians obſerve, that no Conſiderations were of any weight with him. He demanded if he might not enjoy the Privilege of the mean-eſt Subject, and marry the Perſon he apprehended moſt agreeable to him : Unhappy, he ſaid, was the Condition of Princes, if they alone were oblig'd, for Reaſons of State, to cohabit their whole Lives with ſome Domeſtick Plague. But it was further urg'd, in order to divert the King from this Match, that he could neither marry the Lady *Grey* or any other Woman, for he was already contracted to the Lady *Lucy*, and had taken her to his Bed. This a little ſtartled his Highneſs, apprehending if that Matter was not clear'd up, his Iſſue might hereafter be accounted ſpurious ; whereupon he deſir'd that the Lady *Lucy* might be examin'd by ſome Biſhops : And an Oath being adminiſter'd to her to ſpeak the Truth, ſhe ſaid, ſhe did really believe, by the King's Courtſhip, that he intended to make her his Wife, or ſhe had never admitted of his Embraces ; but confeſs'd he had never made her any poſitive Promiſe ; and the Biſhops thereupon declar'd the King was at Liberty to marry whom he pleas'd. Having got over this Difficulty, he married the Lady *Grey*, at her Mother's Palace of *Grafton* ; and ſhe was Crown'd Queen at *Weſtminſter* on the 26th of *May*.

A.D. 1465

A. 5 Ed. 4.

A Precontract with the Lady *Lucy* is objected againſt the King's Marriage.



A.D. 1465

A. 5 Ed. 4.

The Earl of Warwick and the former Ministry disgusted on the preferring the Queen's Relations.

Upon this Marriage, the Queen's Relations were immediately advanc'd to the Peerage. Sir *Richard Woodville*, her Father, was created Earl of *Rivers*; and *Anthony Woodville*, her Brother, made Baron *Scales*, and married to the only Daughter of the late Lord *Scales*, then esteem'd the greatest Fortune in *England*; and not long after the Earl of *Rivers* was made Lord Treasurer, which alarm'd the former Ministers, apprehending that the Queen's Relations would now become the only Favourites at Court. The Earl of *Warwick* was doubly disgusted, first in having been made a Tool of to negotiate a Treaty which the King never thought to ratify, and then in seeing himself depriv'd of the Post of Prime Minister; tho' the King was not so ungrateful as to dismiss him from the other Honours and Employments he possess'd, as some Writers have suggested, till a considerable time afterwards, when he found him in a Conspiracy against the Government. Nor did *Lewis* the French King declare himself *Edward's* Enemy immediately, as the same Writers suggest, we find him courting *Edward's* Alliance for some time afterwards; and indeed it was his Interest to do so; for the French King was at this time endeavouring to reduce the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* under his Power, and to annex their Dominions to the Crown of *France*, which he had little Hopes of effecting, unless he could make *Edward* his Friend, or at least prevail on him to stand Neuter. And as the French King had his Ministers at the English Court with this View, so had the Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Burgundy* their Agents there to countermine the French King's Projects. About the same time a Truce was concluded

be-



between *England* and *Scotland* for five and forty Years. A.D. 1466

The Queen was brought to Bed the beginning of the following Year of a Princess, named *Elizabeth*, afterwards Mother of *Henry VIII*, in whose Person the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* were united. A.6 Ed.4.  
The Princess *Elizabeth*, Mother to *Henry VIII* born.

The *French* King having rais'd an Army to reduce *Bretagne*, did all that lay in his Power to prevent King *Edward's* entering into an Alliance with *Bretagne* and *Burgundy*, sending over Ambassadors from time to time, and making King *Edward* very advantageous Offers if he would abandon those two Princes, and conclude an Alliance with *France*. But *Edward* too well understood the Interest of *England* to suffer the *French* King to take Possession of these Provinces. \* And the old Duke of *Burgundy* dying on the 15th of *July* the Year following, *Edward* did not only renew the Treaty already subsisting with his Son, but concluded another with that Court, whereby the young Duke of *Burgundy* was to marry the Princess *Margaret*, Sister to King *Edward*. A.D. 1467  
A.7 Ed.4.  
Alliance with *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*.

In the mean time some further Alterations were made in the *English* Ministry. The Seals were taken away from the Archbishop of *York*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, a Favourite of the Queen's, was constituted Lord Chancellor in his room. The Earl of *Rivers*, the Queen's Father, was made High Constable; Other Alterations in the Ministry.

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\* The Duke of *Burgundy* was not only possess'd of *Burgundy* Proper at this time, but of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Flanders*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, and other Territories in the Low Countries.

A.D. 1467 and at the same time continu'd in the Office of Lord Treasurer. Which so disgusted the Earl of *Warwick*, that he immediately withdrew from Court, and enter'd into a Conspiracy with his Brothers, the Archbishop of *York* and the Marquis of *Montague*; to restore King *Henry*, making sure at the same time of the Assistance of the *French* King, who was no less disgusted with *Edward* for his entering into an Alliance with his Vassals the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*. And now the Treaty of Marriage being concluded between the Princess *Margaret* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, she was sent over with a splendid Equipage to *Bruges*, where the Marriage was solemniz'd; and a Treaty of Commerce at the same time renew'd between the Dominions of the King of *England* and those of the Duke of *Burgundy*; soon after an Alliance, Offensive and Defensive, was concluded between *England* and *Burgundy*. And *Edward* appears to be so far engag'd with the Duke of *Bretagne*, that he order'd Forces to be rais'd in *England* for the Defence of that Province, giving the Command of those Troops to the Queen's Brother the Lord *Scales*. King *Edward* also enter'd into an Alliance with the King of *Aragon*, when, 'tis said, he made him a Present of some *English* Sheep, which our Historians generally remark was very Prejudicial to *England*; tho' 'tis very possible they may be under some Mistake in this Matter; for the *Spaniards* were never very considerable for their Woollen Manufacture, and ours is mightily improv'd by Wool of the Growth of *Spain*.

A.7 Ed.4.

The Earl of *Warwick* and his Brothers in a Conspiracy against the Court.

A.D. 1468

A.8 Ed.4.

The Princess *Margaret* married to the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Treaty with *Aragon*.

The Earl of *Warwick* observing that the Duke of *Clarence*, the King's Brother, was no less disgusted than himself at the Advancement of the Queen's Relations, ventur'd to communicate his Design of dethroning *Edward* to that Prince, which he readily came into, and soon after married the Earl's Daughter at *Calais*, of which *Warwick* still remain'd Governor; for King *Edward* was so far from suspecting that Earl to be in a Conspiracy against him, that he did not only leave him in Possession of the Government of *Calais*, but about this time made him Governor of *South Wales*.

A.D. 1469

A. 9 Ed. 4.

The Earl of *Warwick* draws the Duke of *Clarence* into a Conspiracy against King *Edward*, and marries his Daughter to him.

While the Duke of *Clarence* and *Warwick* were at *Calais*, there happen'd an Insurrection in *Yorkshire* on Pretence of the Misapplication of the Revenues of a certain Hospital at *York*; and tho' it is generally suppos'd to have been fomented by *Warwick*, yet it appears that his Brother the Marquis of *Montague*, who was then President of the North, suppress'd this Insurrection, and beheaded their Leader *Robert Huldern*. However, the Northern People had recourse to Arms again, and chose the Lord *Fitzbugh* and Sir *Henry Nevil*, Son of the Lord *Latimer*, for their Captains, both of them nearly related to the Earl of *Warwick*; and with them join'd Sir *John Conyers*, one of the greatest Soldiers of that Age. Against these the King sent the Lord *Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lord *Stafford*; but *Stafford* quarrelling with the Earl about a Woman in their Quarters at *Banbury*, deserted the Service with eight hundred Archers. Of which the Rebels receiving Intelligence, fell upon the Earl; and having defeated his Troops, took him Prisoner, with

An Insurrection in *Yorkshire*.

his

*A.D.* 1469 his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, and beheaded them, with ten other Persons of Distinction, at *Banbury*, to retaliate the Death of Sir *Henry Neville*, who had been taken Prisoner by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and put to Death a little before.

The King's Forces were no sooner defeated at *Banbury* but there was another Insurrection in *Northamptonshire* under one *Robert Raddeford*, who surpriz'd the Earl of *Rivers* at his Manor of *Grafton*, and carrying him to *Northampton*, cut off his Head there on the 16th of *November*. On the other hand, the King having apprehended the Lord *Stafford*, order'd his Head to be struck off for deserting the Lord *Herbert*. It being now the Depth of Winter, there was no further Action till the following Spring, when the King granted Commissions to the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* to raise Forces in the North and suppress

the Malecontents, having yet entertain'd no Suspicion of their Disloyalty; as is evident from the Acts of State in *Rymer*, Vol. II. p. 649. But when the Rebels began to resort to the Earl, and acknowledge him for their General, as they did upon his Arrival at *Warwick*, the King could no longer be deceiv'd; he issu'd a Proclamation therefore, offering 10000 *l.* or an Annuity of a thousand Pounds *per Annum* to any Person who shou'd apprehend either *Clarence* or *Warwick*; and having assembled a numerous Army, advanc'd against his Brother and the Earl, who to amuse the King, offer'd him such Terms of Accommodation as they had reason to believe he wou'd not refuse. Whereupon the King imagining that their Differences wou'd be decided by a Treaty; took but little care of the Defence of his



his Camp. The Officers and Soldiers were *A.D. 1470*  
suffer'd to neglect their Duty as if no Enemy  
had been near them. Of which *Warwick* re- *10 Ed. 4.*  
ceiving Advice, attack'd the King's Camp in *The King*  
the Night-time, surprizing him in his Tent; surpriz'd  
and having dispers'd his Army, committed and taken  
*Edward* to the Care of his Brother the Arch-  
bishop of *York*, who kept him Prisoner in the  
Castle of *Middleham*, but under a very mode-  
rate Restraint; for the King was often suffer'd  
to hunt in the neighbouring Park, of which  
his Highness having given Intelligence to  
some of his Friends who liv'd not far from  
thence, (Sir *William Stanly* and Sir *Thomas*  
*Burgh*) they assembled a Party of Men, who  
form'd an Ambuscade near the Park at a  
Time agreed on, and carry'd the King off. He escapes  
He first visited the City of *York*, but not and comes  
thinking himself secure there, he join'd the to *London*.  
Lord *Hastings*, who had rais'd some Troops  
for him in *Lancashire*, and was convoy'd by  
that Lord to *London*, the Citizens readily  
opening their Gates to receive him.

The great Men of the Kingdom having A Confé-  
sufficiently experienc'd the Mischiefs of these rence be-  
Civil Commotions, took this Opportunity of tween the  
proposing an Accommodation, and procur'd King and  
an Interview between the King and the Duke the Male-  
of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* at *West-* contents.  
*minster*; but it had not the desir'd Effect;  
whereupon both Parties had recourse to Arms  
again. Sir *Robert Wells*, Son of the Lord *Wells*,  
assembled an Army in *Lincolnshire* for the Earl  
of *Warwick*; whereupon the King sent for his  
Father to Court, and made him write to his  
Son to disband his Troops; but the Son re-  
fusing to obey, the King beheaded the Lord  
*Wells*, with his Brother-in-law Sir *Thomas Dy-*  
*mock*,

A.D. 1470 *mock*, who came up with him: Then the King march'd down against Sir *Robert Wells* in Person, and defeated him near *Stamford*. No less than ten thousand of the Malecontents being kill'd upon the spot. This Battel obtain'd the Name of the Battel of *Loss Coat Field*, from the *Lincolnshire* Men's throwing away their Coats to run away. As to Sir *Robert Wells* himself, he was taken Prisoner, and soon after beheaded, and the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* not being able to keep the Field after this Defeat, embark'd at *Dartmouth* for *Calais*, with the Earl of *Warwick's* two Daughters, the eldest of which was married to the Duke. When they came before the Town, *Vanclair* the Deputy-Governor refus'd to permit the Ship to enter the Harbour, tho' the Dutcheffs of *Clarence* fell in Labour there, and was brought to bed on board the Ship; but at the same time *Vanclair* found means to let the Earl understand that it was out of pure Kindness he denied him Entrance, the Garrison being ready to apprehend him and his Friends if they had come on Shore. He gave him Notice also, that the Duke of *Burgundy* waited to intercept his Passage, and advis'd him to leave *Calais* and shape his Course for *Diepe* in *France*, where he wou'd not fail of a kind Reception. However King *Edward*, who was not acquainted with the Secret, was so satisfy'd with *Vanclair's* Behaviour on this Occasion, that he made him Governor of *Calais*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* settled a Pension of one thousand Pounds *per Annum* upon him for this Shew of Loyalty.

*Clarence*  
and *War-*  
*wick* apply  
to the  
*French*  
Court.

The Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl arriving in *France*, were extremely welcome to the *French* King, who hop'd by their means to

meet.

meet with an Opportunity e'er long to be reveng'd on *Edward*, for assisting the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*: He sent for *Henry's* Queen to Court therefore, and having reconcil'd her to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had hitherto been the great Enemy of her Family; he promis'd them his Assistance to restore King *Henry* to the Throne of *England*. The Queen on her part 'tis said, promis'd that if the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* wou'd assist in restoring King *Henry*, they shou'd have the Administration of the Government until her Son the Prince came of Age; and as a Pledge of her Friendship, she married the young Prince her Son to the Earl's youngest Daughter.

A.D. 1470

10 Ed. 4.

This Confederacy of the disaffected Lords with the *French* King was not long a Secret to King *Edward*, who thereupon made use of a Female Emissary, a Servant belonging to the Dutches of *Clarence*, to represent to the Duke his Brother the ill Consequence of his endeavouring to establish the *Lancastrians*, who wou'd infallibly destroy him and the whole House of *York* if ever they prevail'd; whereas if he remain'd faithful to *Edward*, there was only the Princess *Elizabeth* an Infant between the Duke and the Throne; and that if he return'd to his Duty he shou'd at present enjoy the greatest Share in the Administration. Upon these or the like Suggestions, 'tis said, the Duke let the King know that he wou'd not fail to come over to him when he found he cou'd do him some signal Service by abandoning *Warwick* and the *Lancastrians*; but it is a Question whether there was so good and Understanding between King *Edward* and his Brother *Clarence*.

The King draws off his Brother *Clarence* from the the Malecontents.



A.D. 1470 till some time after this, if we consider the share *Clarence* had in driving *Edward* from his Throne, and restoring *Henry* a few Months afterwards. But however that Matter was, *Lewis* having furnish'd the Malecontents with a Fleet and some Land Forces, they pass'd the Sea without Opposition, and landed at *Dartmouth*. The Duke of *Burgundy's* Fleet, which lay to oppose their Passage, being driven from their Station on the *French* Coast by a Storm. The Earl of *Warwick* on his landing caus'd *Henry* to be proclaim'd King, and issu'd out Commissions of Array in his Name, requiring all Persons from sixteen to sixty to attend his Standard; which had such an Effect, that there immediately resorted to him above fifty thousand Men. King *Edward* had rais'd a considerable Army to oppose the Malecontents; and order'd the general Rendezvous to be at *Nottingham*; but receiving Advice that the Marquis of *Montague*, his President in the North, was marching against him with another Army; and being inform'd that his own Officers were many of them in the Interest of the Enemy, he retir'd to the Port of *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, being follow'd close at the Heels by the Earl of *Warwick*, where he embark'd with the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Lord *Hastings*, and four or five hundred Men, in three small Ships, having the Mortification to hear his own Troops proclaim his Competitor King *Henry* before he was put off from the Shore. He had the good Fortune however to get safe to *Holland*, after he had narrowly escap'd being taken by Pyrates. In the mean time the Queen fled to the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where she was brought to bed of a Son named *Edward*, afterwards

10 Ed. 4.  
The Duke  
of *Clarence*  
and *War-*  
*wick* land  
at *Dart-*  
*mouth*.

King *Ed-*  
*ward* de-  
serted and  
forc'd to  
fly into  
*Holland*.



terwards *Edward V.* A great many more of the Nobility and Gentry, in the Interest of the House of *York*, took Sanctuary also to skreen them from the Prosecution of their Enemies; while the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* releas'd the captive King *Henry* out of the Tower, and brought him in great Triumph through the City of *London*, on the 6th of *October*, proclaiming him again with the same Solemnity, as when he first mounted the Throne.

*A.D. 1470*

*A. 10 Ed. 4*

*K. Henry*  
proclaim'd  
again,

HENRY VI. upon the Throne.

THE Parliament being assembled on the 20th of *November*, declar'd King *Edward* a Traytor and Usurper, and pass'd another Act of Succession, limiting the Crown to the Heirs Male of King *Henry*, and for want of such Issue, to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Heirs; King *Edward* and his Children being held incapable of enjoying either the Crown or his private Estate, on account of his Rebellion against *Henry*. *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, and other Adherents of the *Lancastrians*, had their Honours and Estates restor'd them; and those who had appear'd in Arms for *Edward* were adjudg'd Traytors, and their Estates confiscated. Whereupon *John Tiptoft*, Earl of *Worcester* and Constable of *England*, who had conceal'd himself in a Forest near *Huntington*, was apprehended and beheaded; and the Parliament, as they were directed, declar'd the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence*, jointly Regents of the Kingdom.

The Parli-  
ament de-  
clare *Ed-  
ward* a  
Usurper,  
and limit  
the Crown  
to *Henry*,  
&c.

Duke of  
*Clarence*  
and the  
Earl of  
*Warwick*  
In Regents:

A.D. 1470

A 10 Ed. 4.

Edward  
assisted by  
the Duke  
of Burgun-  
dy.

Lands in  
Yorkshire.

In the mean time King *Edward's* Affairs had but a melancholly Aspect, he had carried over no Treasure with him, and was even destitute of common Necessaries, his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom he fled for Protection, being already engag'd in a War with the *French King*, seem'd very cautious in espousing his Cause, least the Earl of *Warwick* should attack him at the same time from *Calais*, whither that Earl had just sent over a Body of Troops. However, he ventur'd at length to furnish *Edward* with a Sum of Money, with which he levy'd two thousand Men in *Holland*, and having hir'd four large *Dutch Vessels*, with fourteen *Easterling Ships* for his Convoy, he embark'd his little Army at *Vere* in *Holland*, and came upon the Coast of *Norfolk*, where he design'd to have landed; but finding the Coast too well guarded, he bent his Course to the Northward, and landed at *Ravenspur* in *Yorkshire*.

A.D. 1471

A. 11 Ed. 4.

The Earl of *Warwick* having receiv'd some Intelligence of King *Edward's* Preparations to return to *England*, had given the Duke of *Clarence*, and his Brother the Marquis of *Montague*, President of the North, a Commission to raise Forces. Whereupon *Edward* at his landing, found there was a considerable Body of Troops already on foot to oppose him, which made the Country very backward in coming in to him. He chang'd his Design therefore, and declar'd that he had no thought of the Crown, he desir'd nothing more than that King *Henry* would restore him his private Estate, and was ready to swear Allegiance to him; he made the same Professions till he had advanc'd as far as the City

of *York*, where the Magistrates making some Difficulty to admit him within their Walls, 'tis said, he did not scruple to take the Oaths to King *Henry*, and they were in a manner compell'd afterwards by the Populace to admit him into the City.

A.D. 1471

All Ed. 4.

King Edward comes to York.

The Earl of *Warwick* had sent Orders to his Brother the Marquis of *Montague*, who lay at *Pontfraet* with a good Body of Troops, to oppose *Edward's* March, and prevent his taking Possession of *York*; but the Marquis remain'd at *Pontfraet*, without giving him any Disturbance; from whence some Conjecture, that he intended to stand Neuter till he saw which Party was likely to prevail.

In the mean time *Edward* having encreas'd his Army at *York*, advanc'd towards *London*, but hearing the Earl of *Warwick* was come to *Coventry*, he bent his March that way, and found the Earl so strongly entrench'd that he did not think fit to attack him; nor did *Warwick*, on the other hand, care to hazard a Battel, till he was join'd by the Duke of *Clarence* and *Montague*, who commanded separate Bodies, and to whom he had sent Orders to hasten to him as soon as possible. It was not long before the Duke of *Clarence* approach'd; but when the Earl expected he was come to reinforce his Army, he had the Mortification to see him join King *Edward*; after which, with their united Forces, the two Brothers march'd towards *London*; and 'tis not improbable, that the Duke of *Clarence* had by some Stratagem influenc'd the Marquis of *Montague* not to attack *Edward* when he first landed; but however that was, when King *Edward* came before the City of *London*,

The Duke of Clarence goes over to King Edward.



A.D. 1471 *London*, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Duke of *Somerset*, whom the Earl of *Warwick* had left there with a good Garrison, were not able to prevent the Citizens opening their Gates and admitting him. *Edward* enter'd *London* on the 11th of *April*, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People, and *Henry* again fell into the Hands of his Enemies, after he had born the Title of King for about seven Months after his Readeption.

King *Edward* enters the City of *London*.

### EDWARD IV. reascends the Throne.

THE Earl of *Warwick* being join'd by his Brother the Marquis of *Montague*, follow'd King *Edward* with all imaginable diligence towards *London*, and was advanc'd as far as *St. Albans*, when King *Edward* put himself at the Head of his Army and march'd to meet them. The two Armies came in sight of each other at *Barnet*, and on the Heath near that Town, drew up in order of Battel, on the 14th of *April* being *Easter-Day*. The Earl of *Warwick's* Numbers were not equal to those of King *Edward's*; however being Veteran Troops, and commanded by the greatest General of the Age, the Victory remain'd doubtful for several Hours, till a Mist happening to fall, the Earl of *Warwick's* Men mistook the Earl of *Oxford's* Colours for King *Edward's*, and charging their own Men, put the whole Army into Confusion; for King *Edward's* Device, it seems, was the Sun, and *Oxford's* a Star with Rays issuing from it, which occasion'd the Mistake. *Warwick* did all that could be expected from a General of his Experience, to reduce

The Battel of *Barnet*.



reduce his Troops into Order again, but found it impossible, he and his Brother *Montague*, with ten thousand of their Men, were kill'd upon the spot. But the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, with the Earl of *Oxford*, eſcap'd out of the Battel. King *Edward* immediately after the Victory, return'd in Triumph to *London*, and *Henry* was again ſent Priſoner to the Tower.

*A.D. 1471*  
*A. 11 Ed. 4*  
The Earls  
of *War-*  
*wick* and  
*Montague*  
kill'd.

About the time of the Battel of *Barnet*, Queen *Margaret* arriv'd from *France* in *Dorſetſhire*, with her Son Prince *Edward*, where receiving Advice of the Defeat and Death of the Earl of *Warwick*, ſhe gave all for loſt, and retir'd to the Abby of *Beaulieu* in *Hampſhire*; but the Lords of the *Lancaſtrian* Party reſorting to her there, gave her Hopes of recovering the Kingdom again; among theſe were the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord *John Beaufort* his Brother, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Wenlock*. Theſe Lords perſuaded her to leave the Cloyster and take the Field, which ſhe did not ſeem very averſe to herſelf, provided ſhe might ſend the Prince her Son into *France*, where he might be ſecure in all Events. But the Duke of *Somerſet* inſiſting that the Preſence of the Prince, who was now eighteen Years of Age, would be of infinite Service to the Cauſe, ſhe was at length prevail'd on to venture him in the Army they were aſſembling.

Queen  
*Margaret*  
arrives  
from *France*

The *Lan-*  
*caſtrians*  
aſſemble  
another  
Army.

King *Edward* receiving Intelligence that Queen *Margaret* was arriv'd, and his Enemies in Arms again, publiſh'd a Declaration dated the 27th of *April*, wherein he ſets forth, that the Kingdom belong'd to him by Right of Inheritance, and had been ſo adjudg'd in ſeveral

King *Ed-*  
*ward's* De-  
claration  
againſt  
them.

A.D. 1471

A. 11 Ed. 4



several Parliaments, and that God had declar'd himself on his side, by the many signal Victories he had afforded him; especially in the last, when the Earl of *Warwick* and the Marquis of *Montague* were slain. Notwithstanding which certain Rebels and Traytors had taken up Arms again, the Names of whose Chiefs he thought fit to publish, least his Subjects might ignorantly assist and encourage them, and thereby incur the Guilt of Treason; and at the end of the Declaration, is added a List of the Names of the principal Malecontents, (*viz.*) *Margaret* of *France*, styling herself Queen; her Son *Edward*; the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset*; the Earls of *Oxon* and *Devon*; *William* Viscount *Beaumont*, and twelve or thirteen more of less Quality.

The King  
marches  
against  
Queen  
*Margaret*  
and the  
*Lancastrians*.

Nor did the King content himself with publishing Declarations of his Right, he immediately assembled an Army, and by swift Marches pursu'd the Queen and disaffected Lords as far as *Tewksbury*; not giving them time to join *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was raising Forces for the *Lancastrians* in *Wales*. The Queen would have avoided Fighting, and still have endeavour'd to join *Pembroke*; but the Duke of *Somerset*, who had the principal Command in her Army, let her know, that it was not practicable to pass the River *Severn*, now King *Edward's* Army was so near them; but that they might throw up Entrenchments, and defend themselves in the Camp they possess'd, 'till the Earl of *Pembroke* arriv'd, accordingly the Army fell to work all Night, and before Morning, were so cover'd by Entrenchments, that it was not easy to attack them.

A.D. 1471

A. 11 Ed. 4

The Battel  
of Tewks-  
bury.

The next Day, being the 4th of *May*, King *Edward* came to take a View of their Camp, and found it so strong, that he apprehended he should run a great Hazard, if he engag'd them in that Situation; but drew them out of it by the following Stratagem. He order'd his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester* to attack their Lines with part of the Army, and then retreat, as if he was beaten. These Orders *Gloucester* executed with a great deal of Discretion; he first storm'd the Enemy's Camp with the utmost Fury, and then retir'd with Precipitation, as if his Troops were entirely routed. The Duke of *Somerset* imagining he should improve the Confusion in *Edward's* Army and gain an easy Victory if he follow'd them, was so imprudent as to quit his Camp, and come out into the open Field, where to his Surprise, he found King *Edward* drawn up ready to receive him; *Gloucester* also rallied his Men, and charging *Somerset* with their united Forces, drove him back into his Camp, entering the Lines pell-mell, with the *Lancastrians*, who now fled in their Turns; the rest of the Queen's Army, instead of supporting *Somerset*, run away before they were in any Danger, which made the Slaughter much less than it would otherwise have been, for it appears there were not above three thousand of the *Lancastrians* kill'd in this Battel, among whom were the Earl of *Devon*, and St. *John Beaufort*, Brother to the Duke of *Somerset*. The Prisoners of most Note, were the Queen, Prince *Edward*, the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Prior of St. *John's*. The Prince being brought before King *Edward*, the King demanded how he durst appear in Arms in *England*, to which the

The Queen  
Prince, &c.  
made Pri-  
soners.



A.D. 1471 Prince boldly answer'd, He came over to recover his Inheritance, that had been unjustly taken from him. At which the King was so provok'd, that he struck him on the Face with his Glove, and retir'd. Whereupon, 'tis said, the Lords that were present, fell upon the young Prince, and murder'd him with their own Hands. But why the Dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, and the rest of the Lords of the Court, should chuse to be his Executioners, is not easy to conceive, when any of their Soldiers would have dispatch'd the Prince upon the least Intimation. It is not without Reason, therefore some have conjectur'd, that this and many other barbarous Facts, said to be committed by the Princes of the House of York, were feign'd by Writers who liv'd in the Reign of Henry VII. to ingratiate themselves with the Lancastrians.

The Duke of Somerset, and the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, were beheaded the Day after the Battel, and Queen Margaret was sent to the Tower of London.

Falcon-  
bridge at-  
tacks Lon-  
don, and is  
repuls'd.

While King Edward was at Tewksbury, the Bastard of Falconbridge, who had been made Vice-Admiral by the Earl of Warwick, and turn'd Pyrate on the Restauration of the Yorkists, assembled a Body of Mariners, and other loose People in Kent, under Pretence of releasing King Henry out of the Tower, and briskly assaulted the City of London, but was repuls'd. On King Edward's return he retir'd to Sandwich, and fortified himself there. King Edward immediately advanc'd against him as far as Canterbury, where Messengers from The Bastard met him, and acquainted him, that their Master was ready to lay down his Arms upon certain Conditions, which the King



King agreed to, and restor'd him to his Post of Vice-Admiral, the Loss of which seem'd the principal Occasion of his Discontent, for as to the Right of the Houses of *Lancaster* or *York*, he did not much concern himself about them.

A.D. 1471

A. 11 Ed. 4

And now King *Edward* imagining he should be perpetually disturb'd by Insurrections while King *Henry* liv'd, how harmless and inoffensive soever he might appear in his own Person, gave Orders to dispatch him out of the way, and he was accordingly put to Death in the Tower; but whether *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, the King's Brother, kill'd him with his own Hand, as is usually reported, may well be doubted; for *Gloucester* could not suppose the imbruing his Hands in the Blood of the old King, would add anything to his Character, and *Henry* might have been as effectually dispatch'd by another. But however that was, the Corps of King *Henry* was brought to *St. Paul's*, and there expos'd for several Days, that the People might be assur'd he was dead; from whence it was carried to *Chertsey* in *Surry* and interr'd; but afterwards remov'd to *Windsor* by King *Edward*, and a Monument erected over him.

K. Henry  
kill'd.

The only Branches of the *Lancastrian* Family that remain'd, were *Margaret*, the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, and Widow of *Edward* *Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*; and *Henry* their Son, now about ten Years of Age, whom *Jasper* *Tudor*, Earl of *Pembroke*, his Uncle, conceal'd in *Wales* for some time; but fearing King *Edward* would by some means or other get him into his Hands, he embark'd with the young Earl on board a

A.D. 1471 Ship, designing to carry him to the Court of *France*. They were however unluckily driven on the Coast of *Bretagne*, and carried to the Duke, who would not consent to their Proceeding to the Court of *France*, but put them under an easy Confinement, and treated them in a handsome manner, in all other Respects.

A. 11 Ed. 4.  
Henry Earl of *Richmond* confin'd in the Court of the Duke of *Bretagne*.  
The Lords swear to the Succession of Prince *Edward*.

King *Edward* having assembled the Archbishops, Bishops, and all the Temporal Lords that were in or about *London*, on the 3d of *July*, propos'd their taking an Oath to the Succession of his Son *Edward*, which they all readily came into, tho' it prov'd but of very little Service to the young Prince after his Father's Death, about the same time he pardon'd seven Bishops, who had appear'd in the Interest of his Enemies, being always cautious of incurring the Displeasure of the Clergy, and as he took Care to secure himself at home, he endeavour'd also to prevent all Foreign Insults, by renewing the Truce with *France*, *Bretagne*, and *Scotland*; but still he was not perfectly free from Disturbances.

A.D. 1472 The Earl of *Oxford*, who after the Battel of *Barnet* had fled to *France*, return'd to *England* about this time, and found Means to surprize *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwal*, which the King thereupon order'd to be immediately invested, and the Earl was oblig'd to surrender on Condition of sparing his Life only; after which his Estate was confiscated, and he was imprison'd in the Castle of *Hamme* near *Calais*. The Archbishop of *York* also, Brother to the late Earl of *Warwick*; tho' he had been pardon'd once, was apprehended and imprison'd in the Castle of *Guisnes*, whether

A. 12 Ed. 4.  
The Earl of *Oxford* appears in Arms again, and is taken.

whether for any new Conspiracy, or former Offences, does not appear; but he died in Prison a very little afterwards. *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, another great Support of the *Lancastrian* Interest, having taken Sanctuary at *Westminster* after the Battel of *Barnet*, escap'd out of Sanctuary also about this time, and got to *Flanders*, where he was reduc'd to the Necessity of begging his Bread. Two Years afterwards his Corpse was taken up on the Sea Coast of *England*, but how he came by his Death is uncertain. Notwithstanding the *Lancastrians* were in these wretched Circumstances, the King was still uneasy at the Apprehensions, that the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Nephew the Earl of *Richmond*, would one Day endeavour the Restoration of their Family, and us'd many Arguments with the Duke of *Bretagne* to prevail on him to deliver them up, but he could not obtain his Ends: However, the Duke promis'd that he would secure them from making their Escape from thence.

A.D. 1472

A. 12 Ed. 3

The Duke of *Exeter* dies miserably.

At a Parliament held this Year, the King created his Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*. He also restor'd the Estates and Honours of great Numbers of the *Lancastrians*, who submitted to him in this Parliament, and took all commendable Methods to ingratiate himself with the People, and make them forget their mutual Animosities.

A.D. 1473

A. 13 Ed. 4

The Parliament being assembled again in the Year 1473, all the Acts made by *H. VI.* after his Readeption were repeal'd, and the Succession of the Crown resettled on the Issue of King *Edward*.

The Acts of *H. VI.* repeal'd, and the Crown resettled on *Edward* and his Heirs.

The Heirs.



A.D. 1473

A. 13 Ed. 4



The Truce with *Scotland* was confirm'd about the same time, and the Alliance between the Crowns of *England* and *Denmark* renew'd. Some Differences also were adjust'd with the Court of *Portugal* and the *Hans Towns*, in relation to Ships that had been taken by the Bastard *Falconbridge* while he practis'd Piracy in the narrow Seas; and tho' *Falconbridge* was once pardon'd by King *Edward*, it appears he was afterwards put to Death for these Piracies, or some other Crime committed afterwards.

A.D. 1474

A. 14 Ed. 4



King *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy* confederates against *France*.

King *Edward* having no Domestick Enemies to contend with at this time, the Duke of *Burgundy* propos'd the entering into a Confederacy with him against *France*, and a Treaty was concluded between them accordingly; wherein it was agreed, that King *Edward* should invade *France* before the first of *July*, 1475, and endeavour to recover the whole Kingdom, or at least the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, and that the Duke of *Burgundy* should assist him with all his Forces; and if they succeeded in the intended Conquest of *France*, that *Edward* should resign to the Duke of *Burgundy* the Dutchy of *Bar*, the Earldoms of *Champagne*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, *Eu*, *Guise*, and the Barony of *Douisy*, with all the Towns on the Banks of the *Somme* in *Picardy*; and no Homage was to be demanded of the Duke of *Burgundy* for any of the said Provinces or Towns. This Expedition against *France*, it appears, had been thought of some Years before, tho' the Treaty was not concluded till now; for we find the Parliament of *England* granted the King one Tenth of their Revenues, or two Shillings in the Pound, for the levying and paying fourteen thousand Archers,

Taxes  
rais'd and  
Forces le-  
vy'd.



Archers, at a Parliament assembled on the 6th of *October*, 1472. They also granted the King, in the beginning of the Year 1474, a Tenth and Fifteenth, and upwards of fifty thousand Pounds more in full Payment of the said fourteen thousand Archers. And in the same Year granted another Tenth and Fifteenth, and two Thirds of both, to enable the King to undertake this Enterprize against *France*. From whence it appears that the Army design'd against that Kingdom consisted of Veteran Troops, whom the King had levy'd out of the Forces engag'd in the late Civil Wars. And one Reason of undertaking this War probably was, to busy the Military Men, and divert the People from plotting against the Government. But before the King embark'd in this Enterprize, he renew'd his Alliances with Foreign Princes, and enter'd into some fresh Treaties, particularly with the Emperor *Frederick*, whereby he hop'd to prevent their joining with *Lewis*, or at least to engage them to stand Neuter. And to secure *Scotland* to him, from whence the *English* were generally attack'd when they made any Attempt on *France*, he concluded a Contract of Marriage between the Princess *Cicely*, his second Daughter, and the King of *Scots* eldest Son, with whom he gave twenty thousand Marks Sterling, tho' the Parties were both very young, and the Marriage could not be consummated in many Years after.

A.D. 1474

A. 14 Ed. 4

Alliances renew'd.

A Contract of Marriage with the Prince of *Scotland*.

A.D. 1475

A. 15 Ed. 4

The King raises Money by way of Benevolence.

But notwithstanding the Parliament had rais'd as much Money as could be expected from them to enable the King to undertake this War, he found the Supplies were not equal to so vast an Enterprize, for all the Charges of it were to be born by King *Edward*.

A.D. 1475

A. 15 Ed. 4



ward. Tho' the Duke of *Burgundy* had agreed to find his Quota of Troops, they were to be paid by *England*. He inform'd himself therefore of the Condition and Circumstances of his Subjects; and those who were suppos'd to be Rich, he either sent to, or desir'd their Attendance at Court, in order to borrow Money of them, according to their respective Abilities. And as he was remarkable for his engaging Presence and insinuating Address, he solicited many of them in Person: Among the rest, our Historians take Notice, he apply'd himself to a rich Widow, and demanding what she would lend him, the Lady answer'd, She could not refuse twenty Pounds to a Monarch whose Person and Address were so engaging; and the King thereupon giving her a Kiss, 'tis said, she added the other twenty Pounds. This Loan, by which the King rais'd a considerable Sum, afterwards obtain'd the Name of a Benevolence.

The King  
embarks  
his Army  
for *France*.

He de-  
mands the  
Restitution  
of the  
whole  
Kingdom.

All things being in a Readiness, King *Edward* began to embark his Troops at *Dover* the 20th of *June*, which were so numerous, or the Weather so bad, that they were three Weeks in transporting to *Calais*. What the Numbers of the Foot were does not appear, but the Horse consisted of fifteen hundred Men at Arms, and fifteen thousand Archers. *Mezray* says, that it was the greatest Army that ever the *English* employ'd against *France*; and we find *Edward III.* once invaded that Kingdom with an hundred thousand Men. The King had no sooner disembark'd his Troops, but he sent a Herald to *Lewis* to demand the Restitution of the whole Kingdom of *France*, at which that Prince was confounded. He was well acquainted with the

Successes

Successes of *Edward* III. and *Henry* V. with  
 less numerous Troops ; and tho' he had found  
 means to divert the Duke of *Burgundy's*  
 Forces by engaging him in a War with the  
*German* Princes, yet he did not think himself  
 in a Condition to resist the *English* Army,  
 compos'd of Veteran Troops, and com-  
 manded by a King who had been Victorious  
 in nine pitch'd Battels. He propos'd therefore  
 to effect that by Money which he despair'd of  
 accomplishing by Force ; and having learn'd  
 from the Herald which of King *Edward's*  
 Ministers were suppos'd to bear the greatest  
 Sway in the Court of *England*, he dismiss'd  
 him, after he had made him a Present of three  
 hundred Crowns, and thirty Yards of Velvet.

A.D. 1475

A. 15 Ed. 4

In the mean time *Edward* enter'd the Ter-  
 ritories of *France*, and sent to the Duke of

He enters  
France:

*Burgundy* to come and join him with the  
 Troops he was oblig'd to furnish by the late  
 Treaty ; but the Duke was taken up in the  
 Siege of *Nuz*, a Town in the Electorate of

He is dis-  
appointed  
by the D.  
of *Bur-  
gundy*.

*Cologn*, and having no Forces to spare, came  
 to the *English* Camp, attended only by his  
 ordinary Guard. However, to make some  
 Amends for this Disappointment, he assur'd  
 the King that the Earl of *St. Paul*, Constable  
 of *France*, with whom the Duke pretended to  
 have a good Understanding, had engag'd to  
 deliver up the Town of *St. Quintin* to the  
*English* for a Place of Arms, on their appear-  
 ing before it ; but when the Army approach'd  
 the Place, the Garrison fir'd upon them.  
 This provok'd King *Edward* to the last de-  
 gree, and he could not forbear reproaching  
 the Duke with Breach of Faith ; whereupon  
 the Duke thought fit to leave the *English*  
 Camp, and return to *Germany*.



A.D. 1475

A. 15 Ed. 4

*Lewis*  
bribes K.  
*Edward*  
and his  
Ministers  
to return  
to England.

The Treaty  
between  
*Lewis* and  
*Edward*.

*Lewis* receiving Advice of the Misunderstanding between the *English* and their *Burgundian* Allie, laid hold of the favourable Juncture, and sent an Embassy to King *Edward* to offer him Terms of Peace, who being thus deserted by the Duke, did not seem very averse to the Proposal, but order'd the Lord *Howard*, and some other *English* Ministers, to treat with those sent from *Lewis*, who at length came to this Agreement, viz. That *Lewis* should pay King *Edward* seventy-five thousand Crowns, within fifteen Days, towards the Charges of this Expedition, and fifty thousand Crowns annually afterwards during King *Edward's* Life. That he should marry his Son, the Dauphin, to one of King *Edward's* Daughters, and settle on that Princess sixty thousand Livres *per Ann.* and that a Truce should be concluded for seven Years, wherein the two Kings included all their Allies, and particularly those of *Bretagne* and *Burgundy* were specified on the part of *England*. And lastly, it was agreed, that Queen *Margaret*, the Widow of *Henry VI.* should be releas'd on the *French* King's paying fifty thousand Crowns for her Ransom, and that Princess was accordingly set at Liberty; after which she went over to *France*, where she remain'd till the time of her Death.

The Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl of *St. Paul* were at their Wits End when they heard of this Treaty. They had drawn King *Edward* into *France* on a View of advancing their own private Interests by fishing in troubled Waters, and could not be insensible that *Lewis* would endeavour to retaliate their Treachery when the *English* were retir'd. They made *Edward* therefore large Offers if he



he would break the Truce, but he was not at all inclin'd to rely any more on these faithless Allies. However, *Lewis* was so apprehensive that *Edward* might be prevail'd on by their Solicitations to break the Truce, that he made rich Presents to all the *English* Ministers, and even settled Pensions on them to the amount of sixty thousand Crowns a Year. He sent three hundred Cart Loads of Wine to the *English* Army, and order'd the Officers to be treated at his Expence in all the great Towns in the Neighbourhood of the Army. And thus having made King *Edward* and his Ministry a Bridge of Gold, he kept them steady in their Resolution of repassing the Sea. But a personal Conference was first held between the two Kings on the Bridge of *Pequigny* near *Amiens*, in a Room contriv'd for that Purpose, cross which there run a kind of Palisade Pale, open enough for the two Monarchs to salute each other. Here, 'tis said, *Lewis* insisted much on King *Edward's* abandoning his Allie the Duke of *Bretagne*; but he would not hear of it for two Reasons, one was, that he should thereby too much aggrandize the *French* King by such a Concession; and the other, that the Duke of *Bretagne* had at this time the Heir of the House of *Lancaster* in his Power, and therefore was not to be disoblig'd. 'Tis said that *Edward* at this Interview express'd some Inclination to see *Paris*, but *Lewis* handsomely refus'd his Visit, lest he should be too much charm'd with the Place, and entertain Thoughts of wresting it from him. He never appear'd better satisfy'd therefore than when he saw *Edward's* Back turn'd with an Intention to embark for *England*. As for the Earl of *St. Paul*, who had plaid so treacherous a Part,

A.D. 1475

A. 15 Ed. 4

The *English* Ministers be-  
come Pen-  
sioners to  
the Court  
of *France*.

An Inter-  
view be-  
tween the  
Kings of  
*England*  
and  
*France*.

A.D. 1475 as well with the Duke of Burgundy and the  
 A. 15 Ed. 4 *English* as with the *French* King, sometimes  
 Edward siding with the one, and sometimes with the  
 returns to other, as he could best advance his private In-  
 England. terest; the *French* King got him into his Power  
 not long afterwards; and struck off his Head:  
 And thus ended this mighty Expedition, from  
 whence the *English* had entertain'd an Assu-  
 rance of conquering *France* once again.

Edward being return'd to *England*, sent  
 Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bretagne* to per-  
 suade him to deliver up the Earls of *Pembroke*  
 and *Richmond*, pretending he design'd to mar-  
 ry the Earl of *Richmond* to one of his Daugh-  
 ters, and thereby put an End to the fatal  
 Controversy between the Houses of *York* and

A.D. 1476  
 A. 16 Ed. 4  
 The Duke of *Bretagne* surrenders the Earl of *Richmond* to the *Eng-  
 lish* Ambassadors.  
*Lancaster*. The Duke of *Bretagne*, either gi-  
 ving Credit to this plausible Proposal, or  
 wrought upon by the rich Presents that were  
 made him, yielded at length to deliver up the  
 two Lords to the *English* Ambassadors, who  
 conducted them as far as *St. Malo's*, and were  
 waiting there for a fair Wind; but it being  
 represented to the Duke of *Bretagne* soon af-  
 terwards, that it would be an eternal Blot  
 upon his Memory to deliver up two Noble-  
 men into the Hands of their mortal Enemy,

The Duke repents, and contrives the Earls Escape.  
 who would probably sacrifice them to his In-  
 terests, the Duke repented his parting with  
 them, and sending to *St. Malo's*, contriv'd  
 their Escape from the *English* Ambassadors,  
 promising however that they should still re-  
 main in his Court in safe Custody. King *Ed-  
 ward*, tho' he was at first heartily vex'd at  
 the Miscarriage of this Negotiation, did not  
 permit it to disturb him long. He seem'd de-  
 termin'd to spend the remainder of his Days  
 in agreeable Entertainments and Diversions,  
 exhibited

exhibited Jufts and Tournaments to the People, hunted with them and feasted them continually. He us'd to invite the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* to Hunting-Matches, and did not only give them splendid Entertainments afterwards, and converse familiarly with them over a Bottle, but sent Presents of Venifon and Wine to their Wives, and continu'd his Amours with the Ladies as formerly; but there were three he seem'd particularly fond of, of whom he us'd to fay one was the merriest, another the wittiest, and a third the holiest Harlot in the Kingdom. The last was not to be got out of a Church unless it were to enjoy her Gallant. The merry Lady was *Jane Shore*. But it does not appear who the other two Concubines were.

A.D. 1476

A. 16 Ed. 4.

King Edward indulges himself in agreeable Amusements.

In the mean time the Duke of *Burgundy* carry'd on the War against the *German* Princes with Success; but having drawn the *Switzers* and the Duke of *Lorrain* upon him, he was kill'd in a Battel with their united Forces a Year or two afterwards, near the City of *Nancy*; and leaving only one Daughter, the Princess *Mary*, then about eighteen Years of Age, the *French* King *Lewis XI.* took Advantage of the ill Situation of her Affairs, and seiz'd great part of her Territories. The Princess thereupon apply'd herself to King *Edward* for Protection against the *French* King, knowing it it cou'd never be for the Interest of *England* to see *France* possess'd of *Holland* and *Flanders* and the rest of her Territories; but *Edward* seem'd so much in Love with his Ease at this Time, or his Ministers rather were so largely brib'd by the *French* King, that he refus'd to concern himself in the Princess *Mary's* Defence; whereupon she dispos'd

A.D. 1477

17 Ed. 4.

The Duke of Burgundy kill'd.

The French King seizes Part of his Territories.

His Daughter applies in vain to King Edward for Protection.

The Court of England brib'd by the French King.



A.D. 1476 pos'd of her Person in Marriage to *Maximilian*  
 of *Austria*, the Emperor's Son, who recover'd  
 great part of her Territories from *Lewis*:  
 A. 16 Ed. 4 The Dispute about which has been the Occa-  
 sion of Wars between the House of *Austria*  
 and *France* almost from that Day to this,  
 with some short Intervals. But to return to  
 England; King *Edward* did not long enjoy  
 the Tranquility he expected: His Queen  
 grew jealous that the Duke of *Clarence*, who  
 had been declar'd Heir to the Crown after  
 Henry VI. wou'd one Day deprive her Chil-  
 dren of their Inheritance, and therefore was  
 continually inciting the King against him,  
 and making the worst Construction of his  
 Words and Actions, which were not entirely  
 free from Censure. The Duke of *Gloucester*  
 join'd with the Queen in creating Misunder-  
 standings between the King and his Brother  
*Clarence*, either with a View of having a great-  
 er Share in the Administration during the  
 King's Life, or of succeeding to the Crown  
 on his Demise: And thus while the Queen  
 and *Gloucester* were on different Views con-  
 spiring the Destruction of the Duke of *Clarence*,  
 an Accident happen'd which mightily  
 forwarded their Plot: The King hunting in  
 the Park of one *Burdet*, a particular Friend  
 of the Duke of *Clarence's*, kill'd a white Deer  
 that *Burdet* set a great Value upon, which  
 when *Burdet's* Servants acquainted him with,  
 'tis said he fell into a Passion, and wish'd the  
 Buck's Horns in the Belly of him that kill'd  
 it; which was immediately carried to the  
 King's Ears, and by the Instigation of the  
 Queen and the Duke of *Gloucester*, *Burdet* was  
 try'd for High Treason and executed. They  
 very well knew this wou'd provoke the  
 Duke

He con-  
 rives the  
 Death of  
*Burdet*, to  
 provoke  
 the Duke  
 of *Clarence*.

Duke of *Clarence* to say or do some indiscreet things that wou'd confirm the King in his Apprehensions of his Disloyalty. Accordingly the Duke of *Clarence* coming over soon after from his Government of *Ireland*; reproach'd the King with causing his Friend *Burdet* to be put to Death wrongfully (as his Enemies suspected he wou'd) and even threatned to be reveng'd; and when he was gone out of the King's Presence, said in his Passion, that the King was a Bastard, and had no Right to the Crown, or Words to that Effect, which so provok'd *Edward*, that he order'd him to be apprehended and impeach'd for High Treason, and had him condemn'd in Parliament upon the following Articles, viz. That he endeavour'd to raise a Sedition by giving out that *Burdet* was wrongfully executed; That the King had caus'd several innocent Persons to be poison'd; That the King was not the Son of the late Duke of *York*, and that *Clarence* intended to usurp his Throne; That he had accus'd the King of Magick, and some other Matters of less consequence: But however the Charge was made out, it was not thought fit to execute him publickly; he was put to death in the Tower by thrusting his Head into a Butt of *Malmsey*, as the Tradition goes; certain it is there appear'd no Marks of Violence upon him when his Body was afterwards expos'd to publick View.

A.D. 1478

A. 18 Ed.

*Clarence* guilty of rash Expressions. He is attainted of High Treason.

Drown'd in a Butt of *Malmsey*.

*Maximilian* of *Austria* being now Duke of *Burgundy* in Right of his Wife, desir'd the Assistance of *Edward* to recover the Territories belonging to him, which the *French* King had seiz'd; but *Lewis* still continuing to bribe the *English* Ministry, and promising to continue the Payment of 50,000 Crowns per An-

The *French* King prevails on *Edward* not to assist *Maximilian*.

num,

*A.D. 1479* num, for an hundred Years after *Edward's* Death; *Maximilian's* Sollicitations were not much regarded. *Lewis* amus'd the Court of *England* also with Hopes of concluding the Marriage between the Dauphin and one of *Edward's* Daughters, tho' he never really intended it should take Effect.

King *Edward* much alter'd after the Duke of *Clarence's* Death.

After the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* our Historians generally observe that King *Edward* became extremely reserv'd and covetous. He left off his usual Diversions, and fell to putting in Execution the penal Laws for every trifling Offence; in order to extort Money from his Subjects, and became no less dreaded by them in the latter Part of his Reign than he had been belov'd and esteem'd by them in the former.

*A.D. 1480*

*A. 20 Ed. 4*

And possibly the Treachery of the *French* King and the *Scots*, which was discover'd about this time, might not a little contribute to put him out of Temper; for *Lewis*, who had given *Edward* repeated Assurances of marrying his Son the Dauphin to his Daughter, not being able to put off the fulfilling of his Promise any longer, and expecting the King of *England* would severely revenge his Breach of Faith, incited the *Scots* to break the Truce with *Edward* and insult the *English* Borders, that *Edward* finding full Employment for his Troops at home, might not be at leisure to attack *France*. *James* also

*A.D. 1481*

*A. 21 Ed. 4*

was persuaded to refuse marrying his Son to King *Edward's* Daughter, tho' her Portion was already paid in part. The King of *England*, in order to revenge himself on the faithless *French* King, enter'd into a Confederacy with *Maximilian* of *Austria* and his Wife the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, and agreed to send a Fleet of Ships, and six thousand Land Forces to their

K. *Edward* enters into an Alliance with *Burgundy* against *France*.



their Assistance against *Lewis*. He also enter'd into Alliances with *Castile*, *Portugal*, and other Powers, to enable him to renew the War with *France*. But *James* III. King of *Scots* ravaging the Northern Counties, oblig'd *Edward* to defer his Enterprize against his Grand Enemy for some time.

A.D. 1481  
A.21 Ed.4  
The Scots attack the English Borders.

Notwithstanding *James* had ventur'd to break the Truce with *England*, his Affairs were in a very distracted Condition at home. He was universally hated by his Subjects for his Tyranny and Oppression: He had excluded the Nobility, and all Persons of Figure from his Counsels, and was entirely govern'd by three Favourites of mean Extraction. *John* his younger Brother was imprison'd for speaking too freely of his Administration, and afterwards put to death (in Prison) without a legal Trial: *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, *James*'s other Brother, also was committed to Prison, but made his Escape, and fled to *Edward* for Protection. While the Duke of *Albany* was in *England*, *Edward* enter'd into a Treaty with him, whereby it was agreed, that if the King of *England* assisted him in dethroning his Brother, the Duke should succeed to the Crown of *Scotland*, holding it of *Edward* as his Superiour Lord. Whereupon an Army was sent down to *Scotland* commanded by the Duke of *Gloucester*, with whom the Duke of *Albany* took the Field. A Fleet also was equipp'd, and order'd to attend the Army and furnish it with Provisions on the Arrival of the Troops in *Scotland*.

A.D. 1482  
A.22 Ed.4  
K. Edward foment the Divisions in Scotland.

Sends an Army to reduce Scotland.

The Duke of *Gloucester* meeting no Army in the Field, laid Siege to *Berwick* and took it, and understanding the Court and Nobility of *Scotland* were at Variance, he left part

*Berwick* taken.

A.D. 1482 of his Army to block up the Castle of *Berwick*,  
 and advanc'd to *Edinburgh*. In the mean  
 time the *Scotish* Nobility took this Opportu-  
 nity of revenging themselves on the King's  
 three Favourites; for breaking into the Royal  
 Apartment, they seiz'd them in his Presence,  
 carry'd them away, and hang'd them up at  
 the Head of the Army.

The Eng-  
 lish enter  
*Edinburgh*.

While the King of *Scots* and his Nobility  
 were thus divided, the Duke of *Gloucester*  
 enter'd the City of *Edinburgh* without Oppo-  
 sition, and the King retir'd into the Castle,  
 where the Duke offer'd him Terms of Accom-  
 modation; but *James* would not treat with  
 him. Whereupon *Gloucester* made Proclama-  
 tion by Sound of Trumpet, that unless the  
*Scots* fulfill'd their Treaties with *England*, par-  
 ticularly in Relation to the Marriage of their  
 Prince with King *Edward's* Daughter, he  
 wou'd destroy their Country with Fire and  
 Sword.

The Nobil-  
 ity of *Scot-*  
*land* treat  
 with the  
 Duke of  
*Gloucester*.

This occasion'd the Nobility to send a De-  
 putation to the Duke of *Gloucester*, represent-  
 ing that they were very desirous the Match  
 with *England* shou'd be concluded, and other  
 Parts of the Treaty between the two Nations  
 duely observ'd, and therefore entreated he  
 wou'd not destroy their Country. The Duke  
 of *Gloucester* answer'd, That the Court of *Eng-*  
*land* were now indifferent whether the Match  
 was concluded or not; but expected that the  
 Money that had been advanc'd as the Princess's  
 Portion, should be repaid; and that the  
 Castle of *Berwick* shou'd be surrender'd to  
 him; and on these Terms the Truce wou'd  
 be observ'd on the side of *England*. After  
 which the Duke of *Albany* having a Confe-  
 rence with the *Scotish* Lords, on the Situati-

on

on of their Affairs, it was agreed that the Citizens of *Edinburgh* shou'd become bound for the Re-payment of the Money advanc'd, if the Marriage did not take Effect; that the Castle of *Berwick* should be yielded to the *English*; and lastly, that the Duke of *Albany* shou'd be constituted Regent of *Scotland*, and his Brother still enjoy the Title and State of a King: To which King *James* condescended. The Duke of *Albany* having thus preserv'd his Country from being destroy'd by the *English*, generously resign'd his Administration, and consented that his Brother shou'd resume his former Authority; which he had not long done but he attempted the Duke of *Albany's* Life, who had the good Fortune however to escape into *England*, and there he renew'd his Alliance with King *Edward*; but going over to a Tournament in *France* he was unfortunately kill'd by the Splinter of a Launce in an Encounter with the Duke of *Orleans*.

In the mean time *Mary* Dutcheß of *Burgundy* having been kill'd by a Fall from her Horse, the *Flemmings* in a manner expell'd her Husband *Maximilian* of *Austria*; and wou'd not permit him either to have the Government of the Low-Countries, or the Education of the Children the Dutcheß left behind her; of which *Lewis* the *French* King made his Advantages, bestowing his Bribes so effectually among the Citizens of *Ghent* and other *Flemmish* Towns, that he prevail'd on them to marry the Princess *Mary*, the Daughter of the late Dutcheß *Mary*, an Infant of two Years old, to his Son the Dauphin, and to give him with her the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Burgundy*, *Maconois*, *Auxerre*, and *Charolois*; and the young Princess was accordingly sent to



*A.D.* 1483 *Paris* in the Year 1482. This was a mortal Affront to King *Edward*, *Lewis* having solemnly promis'd time after time to marry the Dauphin to a Princess of *England*.

*King Edward* therefore began to make great Preparations to renew the War with *France*, not only out of Resentment for the Injury done him by the Dauphin's Marriage, but to prevent the *Low-Countries* falling into the Hands of the *French*. The People readily concurr'd with the King in this Enterprize, and were ready to have advanc'd the requisite Supplies: But while King *Edward* was busy in assembling an Army and making Preparations for this great Enterprize, he was taken ill, and in a very few Days given over by his Physicians; whereupon most of the great Lords being assembled in his Apartment, he recommended his Sons the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *York* to their Care, desir'd that they wou'd lay aside all Party-Differences, and make the Welfare of the Kingdom their only Aim, which they solemnly promis'd to do. Then the King applied himself to his Devotions, and expir'd on the 9th of *April*, 1483, in the 42d Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign, and was buried in the new Chapel of his own Foundation at *Windsor*, under a Monument of Steel, polish'd and gilt.

*His Person and Character.* King *Edward* was tall, of a fair Complexion, and had a most Majestick Mien, but yet knew how to divest himself of the awful Presence of a King, and converse familiarly with the meanest of his Subjects. He is generally held to have been the handsomest Man, and to have had the happiest Address of any King that ever sat upon the Throne of

of *England* ; as to the rest of his Character, it will be best discover'd by taking a short review of his Life.

The Spirit and Conduct of this Prince when he first appear'd upon the Stage is imitable. He was not twenty Years of Age when he heard of his Father's Death, and the Defeat of his Army at *Wakefield*, which was so far from discouraging his Attempts to maintain his Title to the Crown, that in less than two Months we find he obtain'd a signal Victory over King *Henry's* General, the Earl of *Pembroke*, at *Mortimers-Cross* ; and notwithstanding he afterwards receiv'd Advice that his great Friend and Support, the Earl of *Warwick*, was routed at *St. Albans*, he continu'd a resolute March to *London*, dispers'd the Enemies Troops, and by his Address, prevail'd upon the City to proclaim him King, and before he had been a Month in the Possession of the Regal Power, we see him in *Yorkshire*, engaging an Army of sixty thousand Men, where he obtain'd a most compleat and decisive Victory over his Competitor King *Henry*, and oblig'd him to retire into *Scotland*.

Reflections on the Reign and Character of *Ed. IV.*

And when his General, the popular Earl of *Warwick*, enter'd into a Conspiracy against him, and his own Brother the Duke of *Clarence* deserted him, and they had so poyson'd the People, as to occasion a general Revolt, we see him wisely give way to a Torrent which was not then to be resisted, and when it had spent itself, and the Nation was undeceiv'd, he return'd in a few Months to his Throne, with as great Triumph and Applause as he first mounted it ; and this not by the Help of Foreign Troops, but by the Assistance

sistance of those very Subjects, who had been so lately abus'd into a Belief of his Male-Administration, and contributed so much to the driving him out of the Kingdom. And to demonstrate how much they had been deceiv'd in the Reports of his Misgovernment, he was no sooner settled in Peace, than we find him enacting profitable Laws, regulating the Courts of Justice, restraining the Extortions of his Officers, and familiarly entertaining and conversing with his Subjects of all Ranks, that he might not be impos'd on by his Ministers, or remain a Stranger to the Grievances of any of his People.

As for the frequent Executions of the Nobility in cold Blood, they are not to be defended, tho' some of them possibly may be extenuated by the Provocations he met with, and the like Practices of the other Party ; his Father's Body, after the Battel of *Wakefield*, was cut in Pieces and mangled, and his Head, after it had been mock'd with a Paper Diadem, set upon one of the Gates of *York*. His Brother the Earl of *Rutland*, a Lad of twelve Years old, while upon his Knees begging for Mercy, was stabb'd to the Heart by the Lord *Clifford*. The Earl of *Rivers*, Father to his Queen, with one of her Brothers, were murder'd in cold Blood, without any Process or Form of Law. It may be consider'd farther, that hardly any of the Noblemen that were executed by King *Edward*, but were taken in actual Rebellion against him, some of them a second time, and that after they had been pardon'd and restor'd to their Honours and Estates.

These Considerations will very much mitigate the Charge of Cruelty in some Instances ;



ces ; But as to his suffering young Prince *Edward*, the Son of *Henry VI.* and the harmless old King himself, to be murder'd by his Brother *Gloucester*, if the Facts be true, I have very little to offer in his Behalf, for he that does not prevent an ill Act, when it is in his Power, does in reality approve and command it. I do not think even his being driven from his Throne sufficient to justify such Facts, how necessary soever his Ministers might represent them, to secure his Government, any more than I can approve that over provident Policy of the Queen's, in taking off his Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*, to secure the Succession to her Children ; and we see, however the King might be surpriz'd into it by the Instigation of his Queen, and the Management of his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*, he heartily lamented it when it was too late, and his Posterity felt the Effects of it.

One thing however is observ'd of this King's merciful Disposition, that notwithstanding the several Attempts made by King *Henry's* Friends, and the many bloody Battels that had been fought to restore him, yet King *Edward* never sent him to any obscure Prison, or suffer'd any Attempts against his Life, for near twelve Years together ; and not till he himself had been driven out of the Kingdom by King *Henry's* Adherents ; which is more than can be said on the deposing of any King before or since, tho' Policy and Reason of State seem'd to require it in this Case, as much as in any other. From whence it appears, that this Prince was not naturally Cruel ; and that he had never permitted King *Henry's* Life to be taken away, but  
upon

upon an Apprehension of the Necessity of it, to preserve himself and his Family.

He is also charg'd with Hypocrisy and Double-dealing, when he came over to *England* to recover his Crown, because he gave out, that he only came to recover his Father's Inheritance. But it has been observ'd, this might relate either to his private Estate, or the Kingdom in general, and then there is no great matter in it. But if he did really swear at *York* to be faithful to King *Henry*, as our Historians relate, no doubt he went too far; and his executing the Lord *Wells*, and some others, to whom he had given his Faith, deserves the severest Animadversion. This might be one of those Crimes which brought down the Vengeance of Heaven upon his Posterity. But it has been observ'd, that *Henry IV.* who had a much worse Title to the Crown, took the very same Steps, and yet is not so severely handled by our Historians; nay, he seems notwithstanding, to be number'd among our best Princes; and this probably proceeds from that apparent Partiality in our Writers, towards those Princes who had the least Appearance of Right; for they frequently insinuate, that Conquest, Usurpation, Election, or any other way of attaining the Crown, is preferable to a Title by Descent; they entertain a Fondness for those Princes who have the weakest Titles, and are strangely prejudic'd against rightful and lawful Kings, and never fail to bear very hard upon their Memories.

There is another heavy Charge our Historians bring against this Prince, and that is his Incontinence, which, they say, was follow'd by such Judgments, as one would think all  
other

other Crimes were compriz'd in it. I shall not take upon me to deny the Facts, or defend the Practice; King *Edward*, no doubt, was a Man addicted to Vice, like other Mortals, and whether, upon taking a View of his whole Life, we are to denominate him a good or ill Man, as a private Person, I shall not determine. However, from Facts admitted on all Hands, he seems tolerably well qualified for a Governor; for, 'tis said, he wanted neither Courage, Sense, Temper, or Humanity; that in Prosperity he was not elated; or dejected in Adversity; that he was liberal, courteous, and affable; that in his Wars he commanded in Person, and in Peace applied himself with all Diligence to Affairs of State; that when he died, he left the Nation in a settled flourishing Condition, and without either Foreign or Domestick Enemies. And surely it requir'd no mean Address to quiet and compose Men's Minds, that had been so thoroughly irritated and inflam'd against one another, by those cruel Contests in the beginning of his Reign. And lastly, we are assur'd he was extremely afflicted for the Blood he had spilt in fixing himself on the Throne; and that he made a most pious and commendable Exit. From the whole therefore, we may venture to place him among the best and greatest of our Kings.

The Title of the Duke of *York*, Father to His Title. *Edward IV.* has already been enquir'd into, which renders it the less necessary to say much of this Prince's Title, who was his Eldest Son. I shall only therefore give a short Abstract of the several Resolutions of Parliament, in relation to the respective Titles of the Houses.



Resolutions of *Lancaster* and *York*. And first it appears, of Parlia- that at a Parliament held in the 39th Year ment con- of *Hen. 6. A. D. 1460.* it was Resolv'd and cerning it. Enacted, That the Duke of *York*, had an in- TheFami- disputable Title to the Crown, notwithstanding ly of *York* ing he then consented that *Henry* should en- declar'd to have a joy it for his Life, in regard of his long Pos- Right to session. But how the Duke of *York* could theCrown. have any Title to the Crown, when he had formerly been excluded by Parliament, and the Crown settled on *Henry IV.* and his Heirs, is not easy to imagine ; unless it should be admitted that an Act of Parliament will not exclude the next Heir, who claims by proximity of Blood.

The de- At a Parliament held 1 *Ed. 4. A. D. 1461,* throning the dethroning of *Richard II.* was declar'd *Richard II* illegal, and the Acts concerning it void ; and declar'd to be illegal, it was enacted, That *Henry IV.* had usurp'd and the the Throne, and intruded himself into the three*Henrys* Government, contrary to the Laws of God Usurpers. and Man. That King *Edward IV.* was at K.*Edward* the time of making the Act, rightful and declar'd lawful King ; and that the three *Henry's* held rightful the Crown by Intrusion and Usurpation. King.

The Acts That the Amotion of *Henry VI.* therefore of the three was lawful, and the Grants and Acts made *Henrys* void by the three *Henrys*, and their pretended Parliaments, were void, unless confirm'd by this Parliament. Whereupon my Friend *Rapin* makes that admirable Remark, *That the Parliament of England are ever on the stronger Side.*

K.*Edward* King *Edward* being oblig'd to quit the declar'd an Kingdom, in the tenth Year of his Reign, Usurper, *A. D. 1470,* a Parliament was call'd, and andhisActs *Henry VI.* was again recogniz'd their King. repeald. *Edward IV.* was declar'd a Usurper, attainted and

and all his Grants and Acts repeal'd, and the Crown limited to King *Henry*, and the Heirs Male of his Body, and on default of such Issue, to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Heirs.

This gave Occasion to *Rapin* to make some further smart Remarks, not much to the Honour of the *English* Parliaments. He says, " Their Declaration was a Formality to please the People, but of no great Weight, the contrary Resolutions of Parliaments, in relation to the Succession, being a sufficient Evidence, that these Assemblies acted not with Freedom, but were sway'd by Events which happen'd before they debated the matter. And therefore it was to no purpose to urge the Authority of Parliament in Defence, either of *Edward's* or *Henry's* Right. Their Resolves were of no Force. They did not act according to their Consciences, unless it was said that their Consciences always directed them to be of the strongest side." From which Description of *English* Parliaments, several notable Inferences may be drawn. But to proceed.

*Edward* the 4th recovering his Throne again, and making *Henry* VI. Prisoner, within seven Months after *Henry's* Readeption another Parliament was held, wherein all the Acts made by *Henry* VI. after his Readeption, were declar'd void, and *Henry* himself a Usurper, the Succession of the Crown was confirm'd to King *Edward* IV. and his Heirs; and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, took the Oaths to the Succession of the King's Son, Prince *Edward*.

*Edw.* IV.  
declar'd  
lawful King  
again, and  
*Henry* an  
Usurper.

Edw. IV.  
his Mar-  
riage, Issue,  
and Con-  
cubines.

*Edward IV.* Son of *Richard Duke of York*, and *Cicely Nevil* his Wife, Daughter of *Ralph Earl of Westmoreland*, was married to the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, Widow of Sir *John Grey of Groby*, and Daughter of Sir *Richard Woodvile*, by his Wife *Jaqueline*, Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, by whom he had Issue three Sons and seven Daughters, (*viz.*) 1. *Edward of York*, his eldest Son; who ſucceeded his Father; 2. *Richard*, call'd *Shrewsbury*, from the Place of his Birth, created Duke of *York* Anno 1474, he was afterwards made Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolk*, and Earl *Warren*, and contracted to *Anne Mowbray*, Daughter and Heir of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, Earl *Warren*, &c. whoſe Titles had been conſerr'd on *Richard*; he was murder'd while he was a Child, with his Brother *Edward V.* in the Tower, by their Uncle *Richard III.* 3. *George of York*, King *Edward's* youngſt Son, who died in his Infancy. His Daughters were, 1. *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter, and indeed the eldeſt Child of King *Edward IV.* born at *Westminſter*, Anno 1466, between whom and the Dauphin of *France*, there was a Marriage Contract a long time depending; ſhe had alſo Offers of Marriage made her by *Richard III.* her Uncle, but was at length married to King *Henry VII.* which put an end to the Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaster*; 2. *Cecilie*, the ſecond Daughter of *Edward IV.* firſt contracted to *James Prince of Scotland*, and afterwards married to *John Lord Viſcount Welles*; 3. *Anne*, married to *Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk*; 4. *Bridget*, who became a Nun; 5. *Mary*, contracted to the King of *Denmark*, but died before the Marriage was conſumated; 6.

*Margaret,*



*Margaret*, who died in her Infancy, and 7. *Katherine*, married to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devon*, by whom she had Issue, *Henry Courtney*, afterwards Marquis of *Exeter*.

In order to Bastardize the Issue of *Ed. IV.* by the Lady *Grey*, his Brother *Richard III.* in making out his own Pretensions to the Crown, charg'd him with being Precontracted to Dame *Eleanor Butler*, Daughter to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. He was also suspected to have promis'd Marriage to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, by whom he had two Children; but on her Examination before several Bishops, she could not charge the King with having contracted with her in Words of present time, and thereupon the King was declar'd at liberty to marry elsewhere; and this probably was the Reason *Richard* did not insist on that Contract. The Lady *Lucy* therefore is rank'd in the Number of *Edward's* Concubines. The Issue the King had by the Lady *Lucy* were, *Arthur Plantagenet* and *Elizabeth Plantagenet*. From this *Arthur* descended *George Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*, so Instrumental in the Restoration of *Charles II.* And from *Elizabeth*, 'tis said, descended the Family of the *Lumbys* in *Surry*. Historians mention no other Issue by his Concubines, possibly because several of them were married Women, and their Issue carried their Husbands Names.

Pre-contracts alledg'd in order to bastardize King *Edward's* Issue.

The King's Concubines and their Issue.

I don't find King *Edward* was the Author of any other religious Foundation than that of the New Chapel at *Windsor*. His Queen *Elizabeth* finish'd that of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, (begun by *Margaret*, *Henry the Sixth's* Queen) and endow'd it. And in this Reign

Religious Foundations.

Reign *Catherine-Hall* in *Cambridge* was founded by *Dr. Woodward*, Provost of *King's*.

Taxes in this Reign. What was Particular in the Taxes of this Reign was, the Method of raising Money by Privy Seals and Benevolences, of which some Account has been given in the preceding History. He also resum'd the Grants of former Kings, and in the latter part of his Reign rais'd Money by prosecuting his Subjects upon Penal Statutes, and extorting large Fines from the heedless Transgressors.

Statutes pass'd in this Reign. The principal Statutes pass'd in this Reign, besides those already mention'd in relation to the Succession of the Crown and Taxes, were.

For confirming the Acts of the late Reign. An Act of 1 *Ed. 4. Cap. 1.* declaring what Grants and Acts of Parliament pass'd in the Reigns of the three *Henrys* immediately preceding should be in Force, and which should not.

For Encouragement of Manufactures. An Act of 3 *Ed. 4. Cap. 3.* prohibiting the importing of wrought Silks.

An Act of 3 *Ed. 4. Cap. 4.* 4 *Ed. 4. Cap. 1.* and 22 *Ed. 4. Cap. 3.* prohibiting the Importation of any Manufactures from beyond Sea which were made in *England*.

Sumptuary Laws. An Act of 3 *Ed. 4. Cap. 5.* and another of 22 *Ed. 4. Cap. 1.* prescribes what kind of Apparel every Class of Men should wear.

Shoes. An Act of 4 *Ed. 4. Cap. 7.* prohibits the wearing Shoes with long piqued Toes.

Bowstaves. An Act of 12 *Ed. 4. Cap. 2.* enacts, That four Bowstaves should be imported with every Tun of Merchandize, *which shews that Fire-Arms were not yet much in Use.*

Soldiers. An Act of 14 *Ed. 4. Cap. 2.* for the Protection and Encouragement of those who should serve the King in his Wars against *France*. Besides which there are several Statutes

tutes for the Regulation of the Woollen Manufacture.

In this Reign flourish'd the learned *Thomas Littleton*, Judge of the Common Pleas, who compos'd an admirable Summary of the Common Laws. As also *John Fortescue*, Judge of the Courts of Common Law, and afterwards Chancellor of *England*, who left some useful Tracts also relating to his Profession. *John Harding* and *William Caxton*, the *English* Historians, with the witty *Scogan*, a Student of *Oxford*, also flourish'd in this Reign. And the Art of Printing was now first introduc'd by *William Caxton*, suppos'd to be the Historian already mention'd, the first Printing-Press being set up in *Westminster-Abbey*, Anno 1471. Men of Note in this Reign.

The Plague visited *England* twice in this Reign, viz. in the 15th and 19th Years of this King, the first of which swept away a Multitude of People within the space of four Months, and the last continu'd above thirteen Months, but did not prove so mortal as the former. Two Plagues in this Reign.



## C H A P. XXVII.

Contains the Reign of EDWARD V.

A.D. 1488

1 Edw. 5.

Edw. V.  
his Accession.

UPON the Death of *Edward IV.* his eldest Son was proclaim'd King by the Name of *Edward V.* He was then in the thirteenth Year of his Age, and resided at *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, whither the late King had sent him with his Uncle the Earl of *Rivers* to keep the *Welsh* quiet, who began to threaten an Insurrection.

Two Parties at Court.

There were at this time two Parties at Court, the one consisting of the Queen's Relations; and such as had been preferr'd in the late Reign, and the other of the ancient Nobility who envied their Advancement. Among the ancient Nobility, the Lord Chamberlain *Hastings*, the Duke of *Bucks* Constable of *England*; and the Lord *Stanly*, were the Chief; and of the other, the Earl of *Rivers*, the Queen's Brother, Governor, to Prince *Edward*, the Marquis of *Dorset* and the Lord *Grey*, her Sons, bore the greatest Sway. The King had recommended Peace and Union to them on his Death-Bed, and they had promis'd him to lay aside their mutual Animosities, and study the Interest of the Kingdom, and of the young Princes he left behind him. The Duke of *York*, 'tis said, always carried it fair to the Queen and her Family while his Brother was alive, but courted the ancient Nobility underhand, as most likely to promote the Designs he had laid. He was in the North when the late King expir'd; whereupon his Friends the Lord Chamberlain *Hastings* and the Duke of *Bucks* sent him an Express



EDWARD.V.







press to hasten to Court, that they might get the young King and the Administration into their Hands before the Queen had made herself Mistress of both; for the Queen had order'd the Earl of *Rivers*, her Brother, to assemble Forces on the Borders of *Wales* to protect the King her Son, and convoy him safe to *London*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* therefore, in order to get the King and his Mother's Relations into his Power, wrote to the Queen, expressing a more than ordinary Affection for the King his Nephew, and promising to assist both him and her to the utmost of his Power; but advis'd her at the same time to order the Earl of *Rivers* to dismiss the Forces he had assembled to conduct the King to *London*, because this would create Suspensions in the ancient Nobility who were but lately reconcil'd, and perhaps occasion new Disturbances.

The Duke having always express'd a great Regard to the Queen and her Family, she had no Suspicion of any Design against her, but imagin'd his Advice proceeded from a real Concern for the Welfare of his Nephew; and thereupon wrote to the Earl of *Rivers* to dismiss his Forces, and bring the King to *London* with his ordinary Retinue, which the Earl obey'd; and came with the King as far as *Northampton*, where the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Bucks* met him with near a thousand Horse. The Town being already full of Strangers, and Provisions scarce, it was thought proper that the King and his People should proceed to *Stony Stratford*, 12 Miles farther on the Road to *London*, and that the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Bucks* should remain at *Northampton* that Night. Whereupon they

The Duke of *Gloucester* prevails on the Queen to dismiss the Troops about the King.

A.D. 1483 entreated the Earl of *Rivers* to stay with them there, promising to attend the King with him next Morning, and accompany his Highness to *London*: To which the Earl consented, and left the King, under the Conduct of the Lord *Grey*, to continue his Journey to *Stony Stratford*.

A. 1 Edw. 5

The Duke  
of Glou-  
cester im-  
prisons the  
Earl of Ri-  
vers.

The two Dukes and the Earl of *Rivers* supp'd together that Night, expressing a more than ordinary Friendship and Respect for each other. The Earl had so little Suspicion of any Design against him, that he lodg'd in the same Inn with them; but, to his great Surprise, it was told him next Morning that the Dukes had taken the Keys of the Inn to Bed with them, and would suffer no Person to pass in or out. Whereupon he went to *Gloucester's* Chamber to enquire the Reason of this abundant Caution; but was no sooner enter'd the Room than they began to quarrel with the Earl, charging him with a Design of alienating the King's Affections from them; and the Earl being about to make some Reply, they order'd him to be taken into Custody. After which they follow'd the King to *Stony Stratford*, and found him just setting out for *London*. Having paid their Compliments to the King, they fell into Conversation with the Lord *Grey*, and demanded what he and the Earl of *Rivers*, and the Marquis of *Dorset*, meant by seizing on the King's Person, and excluding the late King's Relations and Friends from any Share in their Councils. To which, 'tis said, the young King reply'd, that he could answer for the Earl of *Rivers* and the Lord *Grey*, who had all along attended him, that they had no such Design. To which the Duke of *Bucks* reply'd, they had taken Care

to

to conceal their Designs from his Highness. *A.D. 1483*  
 And thereupon order'd the Lord Grey, Sir  
*Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawse*, part *At Edw. 5*  
 of the King's Retinue, to be taken into Custody, obliging them, with the King and the  
 rest of his Servants, to return back to *Northampton*; and soon after sent the Earl of  
*Rivers*, the Lord Grey and the two Knights,  
 Prisoners to *Pontfract Castle*, and plac'd their  
 own Creatures about the King, which drew  
 Tears from the young Monarch's Eyes; but  
 he knew not how to remedy it, or make his  
 Escape from his treacherous Keepers.

The Queen receiving Advice that *Gloucester* The Queen  
 had surpriz'd the young King, and made the takes  
 Earl of *Rivers* and the Lord Grey Prisoners, Sanctuary.  
 immediately saw her Error, and made no  
 doubt of that Duke's aspiring to the Crown.  
 She took Sanctuary therefore in the Abbey of  
*Westminster*, with her other Son the Duke of  
*York* and his Sisters; at which the Archbishop  
 of *York*, then Lord Chancellor, was greatly  
 alarm'd, as well as the Citizens. Whereupon  
 the Lord *Hastings*, a popular Nobleman,  
 whom the Duke of *Gloucester* had left at *London*  
 to keep the People quiet, assur'd the  
 Archbishop that there was no manner of  
 Reason to be concern'd at what had happen'd  
 at *Northampton*, the Dukes of *Gloucester* and  
*Bucks* were no less Zealous for the Safety and  
 Prosperity of the King than the Queen's Re-  
 lations, and only desir'd they might be ad-  
 mitted to tender their Service to him: This  
 prevail'd on that Prelate to represent to the  
 Queen. The Archbishop found the Queen in  
 the Sanctuary, bewailing her own and her  
 Childrens Fate and lamenting that she had  
 been deceiv'd by their Uncle, who would in-



A.D. 1483

A 1 Ed. 5.

fallibly destroy her and her Family. The Archbishop did not fail to give the distress'd Queen all the Satisfaction he could, and that she might believe him sincere, left the great Seal in her Custody. And indeed, neither the Archbishop nor the Lord *Hastings* himself had yet the least Suspicion of the Duke of *Gloucester's* aiming at the Crown. They were both fast Friends to the late King's Children, and would never have concurr'd in any Measures they apprehended to their Disadvantage; tho' the Lord *Hastings*, with the rest of the ancient Nobility, had entertain'd such a Prejudice against the Earl of *Rivers* and the rest of the Queen's Relations, that they were ready to go any Lengths to get them excluded from the Administration.

The City  
alarm'd on  
the seizing  
the King.

The Citizens of *London* were of the same Sentiments with the Queen. They could not but see the King's Danger, and were gathered together in Crowds in order to attempt his Rescue, when the Lord *Hastings*, in whom they plac'd the greatest Confidence of any Nobleman in *England*, came amongst them, and assur'd them the King's Person was very safe in his Uncle's, the Duke of *Gloucester's* Hands. Nor would the Earl of *Rivers* or the Lord *Grey* be confin'd any longer than they could be brought to their Trials, for a Conspiracy they had form'd against the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Bucks*. And upon these, or the like Representations, the Citizens dispers'd and retir'd to their Houses.

The King  
brought to  
*London*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Gloucester* attended the King to *London*, all along giving him the Respect due to his Sovereign, and afterwards lodg'd him in the Bishop's Palace which entirely satisfied the People, who could

no

not believe he had any Designs against the young Monarch while he trusted him amongst them.

A.D. 1483

A. 1 Ed. 5.

Soon after the King arriv'd at *London*, the Duke of *Gloucester* summon'd a Council, consisting chiefly of the ancient Nobility and his particular Friends, those in the Queen's Interest being sufficiently deterr'd from appearing there by the Imprisonment of the Earl of *Rivers* and the Lord *Grey*. The first thing propos'd was, the constituting a Protector, who should have the Administration of the Government during the Minority of the King, and this, as the Council was compos'd, was readily adjudg'd to the Duke of *Gloucester*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* made Protector,

Whereupon he took the Seals from the Archbishop of *York*, who had shewn himself too zealously affected to the Queen and the young Princes, and made the Bishop of *Lincoln* Lord Chancellor. He dismiss'd also several other Ministers of State from their Posts, and fill'd them up with his own Creatures. The Lord *Hastings* however was continu'd High Chamberlain, tho' he knew him a fast Friend to the late King's Children, because he imagin'd that Lord's Interest in the City would be of great Service to him, determining, that if *Hastings* would not come into his Measures, to find some Pretence to dispatch him at last.

Alterations at Court.

The next Step the Protector found necessary to be taken, in order to accomplish his Ends, was, to get the Duke of *York*, the King's Brother, into his Power. He made a Speech therefore in Council, wherein he observ'd that the Queen's flying to Sanctuary was a very great Reflection on the Government. That she could have no other Design in it than to foment the Discontents of the People, and confirm

The Protector proposes the taking the Duke of *York* out of the Sanctuary by Force.

*A.D.* 1483 firm them in the Opinion of the King's Danger, in order to get the Administration of Affairs into her own Hands. That the Duke of *York*, the King's Brother, would be a very proper Companion for him, and they ought by no means to be separated; nor could they, with any Decency, proceed to the Coronation without him. He thought it proper therefore that a Deputation should be sent to the Queen, to persuade her to let the Duke of *York* attend the King, and propos'd the Cardinal Archbishop of *Canterbury*, among others, to go to the Queen with this Message: And if the Archbishop should not be able to prevail with her to part with the Duke, he saw no Reason, he said, why the Council should not take him out of Sanctuary by Force. The Archbishop readily undertook to deliver the Message to the Queen, but was entirely against violating the Sanctuary if he did not meet with Success, observing, that no King of *England* had hitherto dar'd to prophane that Holy Place. To which the Duke of *Bucks* reply'd, that Sanctuaries were intended to protect Men from Oppression, but were never design'd to countenance malicious Insinuations. That there was Reason to fear the Queen might carry the Duke out of the Kingdom, and invite over some Foreign Power to distress the Government, if he should be left in her Hands; and concluded, that it was absolutely necessary to take the Duke away by Force, if he was not to be recover'd by any other Means. In which Opinion a majority of the Council concurr'd; tho' the Bishops could never be brought to consent to the Violation of the Sanctuary.

The Archbishop, and the rest of the Committee of Council appointed for this Purpose,

at-



attending the Queen, made use of all their Rhetorick to prevail on her to deliver the Duke of *York* to them ; but she steadily persisted in her Resolution not to part with him. Many moving Speeches on both sides our Historians furnish us with on this Occasion, very probably the Fruits of their own Invention ; but in short, the Queen too well understood the Duke of *Gloucester's* Views at this time to be wheedled out of her Security, and therefore absolutely refus'd to resign up her Son till the Committee inform'd her the Council had determin'd to take him from her by Force if she persisted in her Refusal, which had more Weight than a thousand other Arguments. She consented the Duke of *York* should go along with them therefore, only because she found it was not in her Power to keep him. Having seiz'd their Prey, they carried him with abundance of Joy to the Protector, who met him with open Arms, expressing the utmost Kindness and Respect for his Person ; but in a Day or two sent both the King and the Duke to the Tower, from whence neither of them ever return'd alive.

A.D. 1483  
A. 1 Ed. 5.



The Protector gets the Duke of *York* into his Power.

Till now 'tis generally suppos'd the Protector had never acquainted any Man with the bottom of his Design ; but knowing the Duke of *Buckingham's* Hatred to the Queen and her Family, and that he was a Man of no Morals, he ventur'd, after the two Princes were in the Tower, to communicate the Matter to him, making the Duke such advantageous Proposals at the same time as he knew his ambitious Soul would readily close with : Infomuch that the Duke of *Buckingham* appears to have been as zealous in promoting the detested Project of excluding the late King's

Acquaints the Duke of *Bucks* with his Design of excluding the late King's Children.

A.D. 1483 King's Children, as if he himself had expected a Throne by accomplishing it.

A. 1 Ed. 5.

The Earl of Rivers, &c. order'd to be executed at Pontfract.

The first thing these two great wicked Men resolv'd on after they perfectly understood each other, was, to behead the Earl of Rivers and the rest of the Prisoners at *Pontfract*, from whom they expected the greatest Opposition if they escap'd. And in this Resolution the Lord *Hastings* and the Council concurr'd out of Hatred to the Queen's Relations; tho' they understood nothing of the Protector's ambitious Views; and accordingly an Order was sent down to Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, Governor of *Pontfract Castle*, to behead his Prisoners.

The Lord Mayor and others in the Plot against the King.

Then the Protector proceeded to engage other Persons in the Plot, whose Assistance he most wanted, particularly Sir *Edmund Shaw* the Lord Mayor of *London*, with his Brother *John Shaw* an Ecclesiastick, and some other celebrated Preachers, who made it their Business to set forth the Illegitimacy of King *Edward's* Children, and the Incapacity of those of the Duke of *Clarence* to inherit the Crown, and to shew that the Protector was the undoubted Heir of the late Duke of *York*, who was kill'd at the Battel of *Wakefield*.

Rapin mistakes as to Edw. IV. marrying the Lady Butler.

Here *Rapin* seems to be surpriz'd that *Philip de Comines* should affirm, That *Edward IV.* was married to the Lady *Eleanor Talbot* before he espous'd the Queen, when our English Historians mention no such Precontract: From whence it is evident, that *Rapin* was never acquainted with some of the best English Historians, or with the Records of Parliament of this time; for in the Parliament Roll of 1 *Rich. III.* we find that King *Richard* expressly charges, that his Brother King *Edward* was married to

Dame

Dame *Eleanor Butler*, Widow of *Thomas Lord A.D. 1483*  
*Butler*, and Daughter of *John Talbot Earl of*  
*Shrewsbury*, with whom he had made a Pre-  
 A. 1 Ed. 5.  
 contract of Matrimony long time before the  
 pretended Marriage with *Elizabeth Grey*. Nor  
 does he mention the Name of the Lady *Lucy*  
 in that Record as the Foundation of the Act  
 for bastardizing his Brother's Issue ; the Pre-  
 contract with the Lady *Butler* was the Found-  
 ation of that Act.

Thus Mr. *Rapin* lays down a Fact that was  
 absolutely false, and then, after his usual  
 manner, spends a Page or two in making  
 quaint Reflections upon it, with which his  
 Readers are amus'd, but very little instructed.  
 It is observable also in that Record, that there  
 is no Suggestion that affects the Virtue of the  
 Dutcheß of *York*, the common Mother of  
*Edward IV.* the Duke of *Clarence* and the  
 Duke of *Gloucester* ; but the Children of the  
 Duke of *Clarence* are there said to be disabled  
 to inherit, on Account of their Father's At-  
 tainder : And when both the Issue of *Ed. IV.*  
 and of the Duke of *Clarence* were thus set a-  
 side, I can't see what Occasion there was to  
 enter into the Dutcheß of *York's* Character,  
 if it had been suspicious. This must have  
 been extremely impolitick, as she was the  
 Mother of King *Richard*, whose Legitimacy  
 also would have been affected by this Affir-  
 mation (admitting he had no regard to his Mo-  
 ther's Honour.) I'm apt to believe therefore  
 our *English* Historians, as well as *Rapin*, have  
 been led into an Error in this Particular.  
 But to proceed.

Mistake of  
 other Eng-  
 lish Histo-  
 rians:

While the Protector gave Directions to the  
 Council to make Preparations for the Coro-  
 nation, which was appointed to be perform'd  
 Vol. XVIII. O o within



A.D. 1483

A 1 Ed. 5.

*Catesby* betrays the Lord *Hastings*.

within a few Days, he held a Secret or Cabinet Council of his Creatures, whom he had let into the Plot, among whom, besides the Duke of *Bucks*, was one *Catesby* a Lawyer, a Person who had been employ'd and advanc'd by the Lord Chamberlain *Hastings*; this Man the Protector corrupted, and by his means, discover'd all the Lord *Hastings's* Secrets; and when the Lord *Stanley* express'd his Fears of what was transacting in the Secret Council, *Hastings* answer'd, they had nothing to fear from thence, for if any thing was mov'd there to the Prejudice of the King, he should not fail to be inform'd of it, by one of the Members (meaning *Catesby*) who betray'd him; but the first Use the Protector made of *Catesby*, was to sound the Lord *Hastings*, whether he could not be drawn off from the King's Interests, for he knew him to be a very popular Man, and one who might be very serviceable to him in his future Projects, if there was any possibility of gaining him; but *Catesby* finding the Chamberlain immoveable, or at least representing him as such to the Protector, on some sinister Views, his Ruin was resolv'd on, and effected in the following manner. The Lord *Hastings*, and the rest of the Lords of the Council, being assembled in the Tower on the 13th of *June*, the Protector came to them, about nine in the Morning, and having saluted the Members, and talk'd with them familiarly upon indifferent things, he left the Room, and desir'd they would proceed in their Consultations without him. About an Hour after he return'd, frowning and biting his Lips, and having remain'd Silent for some time, he demanded in an angry Tone, *What Punishment they deserv'd*

who

who had conspir'd against his Life, while he was *A.D. 1483*  
*Protector of the Realm?* To which the Lord  
*Hastings* answer'd, *They ought to be punish'd as* *A. 1 Ed. 5*  
*Traytors.* And the rest of the Lords concurr'd  
with him in that Opinion. Whereupon the  
Protector stripping his Left Arm bare, which  
appear'd much less than the other, he declar'd,  
that *It was the Queen and her Confederate,*  
*Shore's Wife, that had thus wasted his Flesh by*  
*their Sorceries.* At which the Council were  
astonish'd, knowing very well that his Arm  
had long been in this Condition; but none  
had more Reason to be concern'd at this De-  
claration than the Lord Chamberlain *Hastings*,  
who since King *Edward's* Death, had taken  
*Jane Shore* to his Bed. To which the Cham-  
berlain answer'd, *If they had been guilty of such*  
*Practices, they deserv'd to be severely punish'd.*  
*Dost thou answer me with Ifs and Ands?* says *Hastings*  
the Protector, *I tell thee they are guilty, and* charg'd  
*that I will make good upon thy Body, Traytor.* with Treason.  
Insinuating, that *Hastings* was a Confederate  
with them. Then the Protector striking on  
the Table, a Cry of Treason was heard with-  
out, and a Company of arm'd Men rush'd in-  
to the Council Chamber, one of whom struck  
the Lord *Stanley*, and wounded him with a  
Battel-Ax, and had certainly cleft his Skull  
if he had not shrunk under the Table. Then  
the Protector order'd the Lords *Hastings* and  
*Stanley*, with the Archbishop of *York*, and *Several*  
Bishop of *Ely*, to be taken into Custody, and *other Lords*  
leaving the Council Chamber abruptly, de- taken into  
clar'd, *He would not dine till the Lord Ha-* Custody.  
*stings's Head was struck off.* Accordingly,  
that Lord was hurried to the *Tower-Green*,  
before the Chapel, and being allow'd time  
only to make a short Confession to a Priest,

A.D. 1483 who accidentally pass'd by, was beheaded on a Piece of Timber that lay upon the *Green*, at the very Instant the Earl of *Rivers*, the Lord *Grey*, and the other Prisoners at *Pontfract*, were executed in the same illegal manner. To whose Deaths the Lord *Hastings* had consented; which occasion'd Sir *Walter Raleigh* to say, *That a greater Judgment than this upon Rivers, &c Hastings, he had never observ'd in Story.*

The Citizens acquainted with the *Ham Plot*.


That the People might really believe there was a Necessity for this summary and illegal Execution, the Protector immediately sent for some of the principal Citizens, who found him and *Buckingham* in two Suits of rusty Armour, surrounded by their Servants, and in great Consternation, in Appearance. The Reason of which the Protector declar'd, was a Conspiracy of the Lord *Hastings*, to murder him and the Duke of *Bucks*, as they sat in Council, and to subvert the Government, which he had but just time to prevent, by taking off the Lord *Hastings* in the manner above related; and having given God Thanks for this happy Escape, a Proclamation of the like Import was immediately publish'd in the City, that they might be made sensible of the greatness of the Deliverance.

*Jane Shore* punish'd.

*Jane Shore* having been charg'd as an Accomplice in the Conspiracy, was apprehended also, and brought before the Council, but she made so handsome a Defence, that neither Treason or Witchcraft could be fix'd upon her. Whereupon she was deliver'd to the Bishop of *London*, to be prosecuted for Incontinency, in abusing her Husband's Bed, and being convicted, was oblig'd to do publick Penance in *St. Paul's*, where without any Ornaments she appear'd so exceeding beautiful,



ful, that she was universally pitied, and the more so, inasmuch as when she had the late King's Ear, she made it her Business to protect the Distress'd, and do good Offices without demanding or accepting any Gratitude or Reward. She liv'd to be very old, and notwithstanding all the good Turns she had done her numerous Clients, was at last reduc'd to the Necessity of begging her Bread, as 'tis said.

A.D. 1483  
A. 1 Ed. 5.  


And now when the Nobility and People were sufficiently terrified at these violent Proceedings, and none durst move his Hand or Tongue against the Administration, it was thought a proper time to declare *Richard's* Title to the Crown, and to fix him on the Throne, before they were recover'd from their Consternation. Whereupon Doctor *Shaw* was set up to preach at St. *Paul's*, and other eminent Doctors in other Parts of the Town, who insisted on the illegitimacy of King *Edward's* Children, and the Incapacity of those of the Duke of *Clarence* to inherit the Crown, declaring, that *The Protector was the only indubitable Heir of the House of York, the perfect Image of his Father, and the Inheritor of all his Virtues.* It was contriv'd also, that while *Shaw* was upon this Topick, the Protector should enter the Cathedral of St. *Paul's*. But the Preacher was unluckily got over it before the Protector appear'd. However coming in soon after, *Shaw* resum'd his Description of the Protector, and it was expected the People should have cried out, *Long live King Richard.* But instead of this, they rather shew'd their Contempt and Detestation of the vile mercenary Preacher; and the Doctor himself, 'tis said, was so ashamed of

*Richard's*  
Title to  
the Crown  
preach'd  
up.

*A.D.* 1483 of the odious Flattery, that he never appear'd  
 in Publick afterwards, nor did he long survive it. Another Preacher, one *Pinker*, Provincial of the *Austin Friars*, 'tis said, rent his Throat to that degree, in making out King *Richard's* Title, that he quite lost his Voice, and was forc'd to come down in the middle of his Sermon.

The Duke of Bucks endeavours to make out *Richard's* Title to the Crown.

But these little Mortifications did not hinder the Protector's proceeding in his Design upon the Throne, for two Days after the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens being assembled in *Guildhall*, the Duke of *Bucks* came to them, telling them he had Matters of great Importance to communicate to the City from the Council; after which in a set Speech, he reflected on the Miscarriages and Oppressions of the late Reign, and repeated the Substance of *Shaw's* Sermon, as to the Illegitimacy of *Edward's* Children, and the Incapacity of the Duke of *Clarence's* to inherit; and said, he hop'd they would concur therefore with the Council, and the rest of the People of *England*, in petitioning the Protector, the undoubted Heir to the Crown to take the Government of the Kingdom upon him, and declare him their Sovereign. Here the Duke made a Pause, expecting the Citizens would have cry'd out *Long live King Richard*. But there was a profound Silence. Whereupon the Duke demanded of the Mayor, what could be the Reason of it. The Mayor said, he believ'd the People did not apprehend his Meaning. Then the Duke raising his Voice, repeated in few Words, the Substance of his long Harangue, which serv'd only to astonish his Audience the more. Whereupon the Recorder was order'd to re-

The Citizens astonish'd at the Duke's Speech.

present

present the matter to them ; but neither had <sup>A.D. 1483</sup>  
 this any better Effect, till some of the Duke's <sup>A. 1 Ed. 5.</sup>  
 own Servants, and some of the Mob, having  
 crouded into the Hall, flung up their Caps,  
 and cry'd, *King Richard*, which gave the  
 Duke Occasion to say, that he was overjoy'd  
 to find them so unanimous in acknowledging  
*King Richard* for their Sovereign, desiring  
 they would assemble again the next Morning,  
 that they might attend his Highness together,  
 and prevail on him, if possible, to take the  
 Burthen of the Government upon him.

The next Day accordingly, the Duke of <sup>The Duke</sup>  
*Bucks*, and several other Noblemen, the Lord <sup>of Bucks,</sup>  
 Mayor and Aldermen, and great Numbers <sup>with feveral</sup>  
 of the Citizens, attended *Richard* at *Bay-* <sup>of the</sup>  
*nard's-Castle* in *Thames-Street*, his usual Resi- <sup>Nobility</sup>  
 dence. Here the Duke of *Bucks* acquainted <sup>and Citi-</sup>  
 him, that the Lords and Citizens that were <sup>zens offer</sup>  
 present, reflecting on their Oppressions and <sup>the Crown</sup>  
 Sufferings in the late Reign, and the unset- <sup>to the Pro-</sup>  
 tled Condition of the Nation at present, while <sup>tector.</sup>  
*King Edward's* spurious Issue sat upon the  
 Throne, they came to petition him as he was  
 the only surviving Son of the late Duke of  
*York*, and alone able to protect them from the  
 Miseries they fear'd, that he would accept the  
 Crown, and take the Government of the  
 Kingdom upon him, which was his undoubt-  
 ed Inheritance. To which the Protector an-  
 swer'd, That tho' there might be a great  
 deal of Truth in this Address, yet such was  
 his Affection to his Brother's Children, that  
 he could never consent to accept their Offer.  
 The Duke of *Bucks* replied, That the Peo-  
 ple were determin'd never to obey *King Ed-*  
*ward's* Children, and that if the Protector  
 refus'd to be their King, they should soon  
 find



A.D. 1483 find a Prince that would not slight their Proposal.

A. 1 Ed. 5.

He accepts  
it with  
seeming  
Reluctance

This Resolution seem'd to alarm the Protector, he told the People, He was extremely concern'd that the Kingdom was so averse to the Dominion of his Brother's Issue ; He was not ignorant indeed, that the Crown belong'd to him as Heir of the House of *York*, and that the Election of the People was still a more desirable Title than that of Descent. Therefore since they were resolv'd to exclude the young Princes, he gratefully accepted the Offer they made him of the Crown, and from this Instant, should take the Government of the Kingdom upon him. Whereupon the inferior People joining with the Court, cried out, *Long live King Richard*. But most of the Citizens return'd to their Dwellings, amaz'd at the theatrical Proceeding. However this is look'd upon as the Conclusion of the Reign of *Edward V*.

The end  
of the  
Reign of  
*Ed. V*.





RICHARD. III.



## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Contains the Reign of RICHARD III.*

THE Protector, *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, the eighth and youngest Son of *Richard Duke of York*, pretending a Right to the Crown both by Descent and the Election of the People, was proclaim'd King on the 22d of *June*, 1483. He began his Reign with a general Pardon to his Subjects, very few excepted. He set at liberty those who had appear'd in a different Interest, and attempted a Reconciliation with his greatest Enemies. The Archbishop of *York* and *Thomas Lord Stanley*, who had been imprison'd when the Lord *Hastings* was executed in the Tower, were discharg'd; and Dr. *Moreton*, Bishop of *Ely*, at the Intercession of the University of *Oxford*, was releas'd out of Prison, but committed however to the Care of the Duke of *Bucks*; for *Richard* knew him to be a Prelate of great Abilities, and so firmly attach'd to the Interest of his Nephews, that he seems to have dreaded him more than any other Subject. It was evidently against his Judgment therefore to indulge him the least Enlargement; nor had he ever done it but to gain the Opinion of the University of *Oxford* in the Beginning of his Reign.

Some Honours he conferr'd on his Friends soon after his Accession. *John Lord Howard* was made Earl Marshal, and created Duke of *Norfolk*: He was also constituted High Steward against the Coronation. His Son *Thomas Howard* was created Earl of *Surrey*; *Sir William Berkley* Earl of *Nottingham*, and

A.D. 1483  
A. 1 Rich. 3  
Richard III his Accession.  
He endeavours to render himself popular

Creations of Nobility.

Vo L. XVIII. P p the

A.D. 1483 the Lord Lovel, Viscount Lovel and Lord Chamberlain.

A. 1 Rich. 3

The Coronation.

The Coronation of the King and Queen being fix'd, a Body of five thousand Men were order'd out of the North to attend the Solemnity, lest there should be any Disturbance, for all the Nobility of *England* were assembled on this Occasion; and as many of them were not well affected to the present Government, the King seem'd apprehensive that they might take this Opportunity of caballing against him before he was well establish'd on his Throne. But nothing of this Nature happen'd; the Ceremony was perform'd on the sixth of *July*, with the usual Splendour and the Acclamations of the People: Not a Murmur nor a melancholy Look appear'd to interrupt the Solemnity. After which Ambassadors were sent to the Courts of *France*, *Spain* and *Bretagne*, to renew the ancient Alliances between *England* and those Powers. In the mean time the King visited several Parts of *England*, taking the Duke of *Bucks* with him as far as *Gloucester*, on whom he had conferr'd innumerable Favours; particularly he gave him the Post of High Constable of *England*, and made him in a Manner Viceroy of *Wales* and the adjacent Counties. But still the Duke was not satisfied; he demanded of the King as a Right a Moiety of the Land belonging to the Dutchy of *Hereford*, as he was descended from one of the Coheiresses of that Family. But this Dutchy having been forfeited to the Crown by the Attainder of one of the Duke's Ancestors, and now actual

The Duke of *Bucks* becomes a Malecontent. Part of the Inheritance of the Crown, King *Richard* gave the Duke a flat Denial; at which this Nobleman was extremely disgusted; but ha

had the Wisdom however to conceal his Con-  
cern till he found a plausible Pretence of re-  
tiring from Court.

A.D. 1483

A. 1 Rich. 3

While the King was at *Gloucester*, the late King *Ed-  
ward V.* and his Brother the Duke of *York*, were murder'd in the Tower of *London* and the  
by his Orders: According to Tradition, *York* mur-  
he first commanded Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, der'd in the  
Governor of the Tower, to dispatch them: Tower.  
but notwithstanding Sir *Robert* was indebted to  
King *Richard* for his Advancement in the  
World, he refus'd to be concern'd in so exe-  
crable a Fact: Whereupon the King order'd  
him to deliver the Keys of the Tower for a  
Night to one *James Tyrrel*, a Domestick of  
the King's, who had undertaken the barbarous  
Office.

The two young Princes had long been de-  
ny'd the Conversation of their Friends; their  
own Servants taken from them, and such Peo-  
ple put about them as had no Inclination or  
Interest to preserve them; so that *Tyrrel* ha-  
ving the Keys deliver'd him, found no great  
Difficulty in executing his Orders. He took  
with him 'tis said, four Villains fit for his Pur-  
pose, among whom were *Miles Forest*, a  
known Assassin, and *John Dighton*, a Groom  
in the King's Stables. These Fellows entring  
the Princes Apartment at Midnight, when  
they were asleep, stifled them in the Bedcloaths,  
and buried them under the Stairs: Of which  
King *Richard* receiving Advice, left *Glou-  
cester*, and continued his Journey to *York*,  
where he was crown'd a second time; at which  
Solemnity he created his Son *Edward* Prince  
of *Wales*. Here also he regulated the Courts  
of Justice, and punish'd the Extortions and  
Oppressions of his Officers.

His Son  
created  
Prince of  
Wales.

He regu-  
lates the  
Courts of  
Justice.



A.D. 1483

A. 1 Rich. 3

The Duke  
of Bucks  
and Bishop  
Moreton in  
a Conspira-  
cy against  
King Ri-  
chard.

The Duke of *Bucks* being retir'd to his Government of *Wales* full of Discontent, convers'd freely with Dr. *Moreton*, Bishop of *Ely*, who had been committed to his Custody by the King: He did not forbear to express his Resentment against King *Richard's* Ingratitude, whom he had in a manner plac'd upon the Throne. The Bishop was at first in doubt whether this Discourse was not intended to ensnare him; but finding at length that the Duke was in good earnest become a Malecontent, he ventur'd to talk with him more freely of the Measures *Richard* had taken to mount the Throne, and the Tyranny of the present Administration; whereupon the Duke demanded what Remedy he cou'd propose to deliver them from the Miseries they suffer'd: The Bishop answer'd, he was once entirely devoted to the *Lancastrian* Interest, and had serv'd *Hen. VI*; but that Prince and his Son being dead, he was afterwards of *Edward* the IVth's Council, and had serv'd him faithfully; and when he found the Duke of *Gloucester* had a Design upon the Crown, he oppos'd him with all his Might; on which Account he had been committed to Prison; that this had increas'd his Aversion to the Usurper; but his murdering his two innocent Nephews in the Tower had render'd him still more detested by himself and all Mankind; and he did not doubt but the Nation wou'd concur with them in pulling down the Tyrant, and setting a more deserving Branch of the Royal Family upon the Throne; nor could he think of a Prince fitter to weild the *English* Scepter than the Duke of *Bucks*, who was lineally descended from *Edward III*.

The Duke having taken some time to deliberate on what the Bishop suggested, in a Day or two return'd to his Apartment, and resuming the Topick they were last upon, he acknowledg'd he had once some Design upon the Crown, but that weighing things impartially, he found he had very little Reason to expect Success in such an Undertaking; for as there were several Princes of the House of *Lancaster* before him, he should infallibly be oppos'd by them as well as by the whole House of *York*, and therefore he was determin'd to think no more of it, and desir'd the Bishop to name another Prince to fill the Throne. Having continu'd their Conversation some time on this Head, either the Duke or the Bishop (for I find Authors are divided) propos'd the Earl of *Richmond*, who was generally look'd upon as the next Heir of the House of *Lancaster*; but which of them soever was so fortunate as to name the Earl, both of them agreed he was the most likely Person in the World to succeed, especially if he married the Princess *Elizabeth*, King *Edward*'s eldest Daughter; for then he wou'd infallibly have the Interest both of the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and of all who wish'd well to their Country; for by this means a Period wou'd be put to the Civil Wars, which had so long distracted the Kingdom. Then by proper Agents they communicated the Matter to the Countess of *Richmond*, Mother to the Earl, and to the Queen Dowager, who both agreed to the Proposal: The Countess undertook for her Son, and the Queen for her Daughter, that it should be a Match; and an Express was immediately sent over to *Bretagne* to the Earl to invite him over; who very readily came into the Scheme. In

A.D. 1483

A. 1 Rich. 3

They propose advancing the Earl of *Richmond* to the Throne.

A.D. 1483

A. 1 Rich. 3

Bishop  
Moreton  
escapes in-  
to Flanders.  
The Duke  
of Bucks  
concerts  
Measures  
with his  
Adherents.

In the mean time the Bishop of *Ely* made his Escape into *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Bucks*, having consulted his Friends, prepar'd to put his Designs in Execution: *Wales* was almost entirely in his Power, and here he propos'd to raise the most considerable Body of Men; while the Marquis of *Dorset*, Sir *Richard Woodville*, his Brother, the Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Edward Courtney*, assembled their Friends in *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Dorsetshire*, and *Devonshire*, on which Coast it was intended the Earl should land. Insurrections also were concerted in several other Counties, the more to distract the Government.

The Earl  
of Rich-  
mond pre-  
pares to  
come to  
England.

The Earl of *Richmond* having acquainted the Duke of *Bretagne*, with the Disposition of the People of *England* in his Favour, the Duke promis'd to furnish him with a Fleet and a Body of Land Forces, and the Earl thereupon let his Friends in *England* know, that he should be with them in the beginning of *October*; but as there were such Numbers concern'd in the Conspiracy, and Messengers frequently sent backwards and forwards between *Bretagne* and *England*, King *Richard* had receiv'd some Intimation of the Design; and reflecting that the Duke of *Bucks* had retir'd from Court in Disgust, and that he had afterwards let his Prisoner the Bishop of *Ely* escape, who had always oppos'd *Richard* with the greatest Zeal, the King had no room to doubt that the Duke was at the Bottom of the Conspiracy. Whereupon he sent him a civil Invitation to come to Court, and when the Duke pretended to be indispos'd, and not in a Condition to undertake such a Journey, the King let him know that he would admit of no Excuses, and if he did not come up, he should soon

Richard  
discovers  
the Plot.



soon make him sensible of his Resentment. From whence the Duke concluding that *Richard* was not unacquainted with the Plot, immediately assembled his Vassals in *Wales*, and had recourse to Arms. After which he march'd with the utmost Expedition towards *Gloucester*, designing to pass the *Severn* there, and join the Malecontents in *Devonshire*, where it was expected the Earl of *Richmond* would land. But the Rains fell so violently at this time, that the *Severn* over-flow'd its Banks beyond whatever had been known, Houses and whole Families were carried away by the Torrent, and Hills are said to have been cover'd with the Waters. This Flood continu'd so long, that the *Welsh*, who had brought no Provisions with them, and were very ill provided to lie in the Field in this tempestuous Season, found themselves under a necessity of dispersing, and returning to their several Dwellings, insomuch that the Duke of *Bucks* finding himself entirely deserted, endeavour'd to conceal himself in the House of *Humphry Banister*, who had formerly been his Servant.

A.D. 1483

A. 1 Rich. 3

The Duke of *Bucks* raises Forces in *Wales*.

An Inundation of the *Severn* hinders the Duke's passing it.

The *Welsh* desert him.

The King understanding that the Duke's Forces were dispers'd, publish'd a Proclamation, offering a Reward of a thousand Pounds or an hundred Pounds a Year, to any Person that should apprehend him; eight hundred Pounds for taking the Marquis of *Dorset*, and lesser Sums for the rest of the Conspirators, in Proportion to their Quality. *Banister*, either out of Fear or Covetousness, thereupon discover'd the Duke his Master to the Sheriff of *Shropshire*, who found him in a Disguise, digging in a Garden, and carried him to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* then

The Duke is taken and be-headed.

was

*A.D.* 1483 was. The Duke begg'd he might see the King, having some Hopes, possibly, that he might save his Life, by putting him in mind of former Services; others imagine he design'd to have kill'd *Richard*, if he had been brought before him, a Dagger being found in his Bosom after he was dead. But the King sent his Agents to him, and having drawn out of him what they could in relation to the Plot, order'd his Head to be struck off in the Market-Place, which the Duke had little Reason to complain of, as he had been instrumental in taking away the Lives of many other Noblemen, by the like arbitrary Sentences.

The Earl of *Richmond*'s Fleet dispers'd.

Upon the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Misfortune, the rest of the Conspirators fled, or conceal'd themselves among their Friends; the Marquis of *Dorset*, and several others, had the good Fortune to escape over into *Bretagne*. In the mean time the Earl of *Richmond* had set sail from *St. Malo*'s, with a good Fleet of Ships, and five thousand Land Forces on board; but most of his Ships being dispers'd by a Storm, he came upon the Coast of *Cornwal* almost alone; he saw the Shore cover'd with Troops, and was invited by them to land. They pretended they had been posted there by the Duke of *Bucks*, in order to favour the Earl's landing; but he had the good Fortune to discover they were Enemies, and thereupon return'd to *France*, where he found the Marquis of *Dorset*, and several more of his Friends, who gave an Account of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death. However the Earl was not discourag'd, but resolv'd still to pursue his Design, and took

an

an Oath in the Cathedral of *Rennes*, to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*. A.D. 1483

King *Richard* having luckily escap'd this Conspiracy, gave a Commission to Sir *Ralph Ashton*, whom he constituted Vice-Constable of *England*, *pro hac vice*, to try such of the Conspirators as had not the good Fortune to escape, in a summary way. This Gentleman condemn'd and executed great Numbers in the *Western Counties*, who were *suppos'd* to have favour'd the late Insurrection, without allowing them a Tryal by a Jury, or regarding whether Legal Evidence was produc'd against them, or not; If they were guilty in the *Opinion* of the Vice-Constable, that was held sufficient to put them to Death. A. 1 Rich. 3  
The Male-contents in the West try'd and executed in a summary way.

A Parliament being summon'd to meet in *January* the following Year, the Proceedings against the Conspirators were approv'd, the Earl of *Richmond*, and all his Adherents were attainted, and their Estates confiscated, and the Lord *Stanley*, who had married the Countess of *Richmond*, was order'd by the King to keep the Countess under a strict Confinement; there being Reason to suspect she was concern'd in the late Plot, tho' she was not accus'd of it by any of the Conspirators. The Lord *Stanley* her Husband, seems to have been in great Favour with *Richard* at this time, from his making him High-Constable, immediately after *Ashton's* Commission expir'd, as well as from his trusting him with the Custody of the Countess his Wife, whom the King look'd upon as his greatest Enemy. What Reason he had for this Confidence in the Lord *Stanley*, whose Life he had formerly attempted, does not appear; but it is evident from what follow'd not long after, that A.D. 1484  
A. 2 Rich. 3  
The Male-contents attainted in Parliament and their Estates confiscated.



A.D. 1484 his Opinion of that Lord's Affection to his Person was ill-grounded.

A. 2 Rich. 3

Children declar'd illegitimate, and the Crown settled on Richard and his Heirs.

In the same Parliament the Children of *Edward IV.* were declar'd illegitimate, and those of the Duke of *Clarence* incapable of Inheriting the Crown; King *Richard* was acknowledg'd to be the next Heir of the late Duke of *York*, and their rightful Sovereign, and the Succession limited to *Edward* his eldest Son the Prince of *Wales*, and his Heirs: But the Prince dying the same Year, the King declar'd his Sister's Son, the Earl of *Lincoln*, his Heir.

Still the King was apprehensive that the Earl of *Richmond* would procure him fresh Troubles, he sent Ambassadors therefore to the Duke of *Bretagne*, to offer him whatever he would ask, if he would deliver up the Earl. The Duke being at this time seiz'd with an Indisposition, which render'd him incapable of Government, the King's Ambassadors had so far gain'd his Prime Minister *Peter Landais*, that he had agreed to put him into the Hands of the King of *England*; which was some way or other discover'd to the Bishop of *Ely*, who gave the Earl of *Richmond* Notice of it: Whereupon the Earl fled to *Charles VIII.* the *French* King, and very narrowly escap'd the Danger. The Duke of *Bretagne* recovering soon after, was extremely incens'd against *Landais*, for his Practices to betray the Earl, and giving his Friends the Liberty of following him to the Court of *France*, let the Earl know at the same time, he would yet assist him in his Enterprize upon *England*, if he proceeded in it. The Earl was also hospitably receiv'd at the Court of *France*, and great Offers of Assist-

The Earl of *Richmond* in danger of being deliver'd up to *Richard*.

ance

ance made him, if he thought fit to venture *A.D. 1484*  
upon a second Attempt against *England*.

*A. 2 Rich. 3*



In the mean time the Earl of *Oxford*, who had been twelve Years a Prisoner in the Castle of *Hammes*, on Account of his Adherence to the *Lancastrians*, made his Escape from thence, having persuaded the Governor to go along with him, and make a tender of his Service to the Earl of *Richmond*, and several other Lords and Persons of Distinction in *England* sent a fresh Invitation to the Earl to accept the Crown. Of which King *Richard* receiving repeated Advices, began to entertain a Jealousy of many of the Nobility, but of none more than of the Lord *Stanley*, Husband to the Countess of *Richmond*, inso-  
much, that when *Stanley* took his Leave of him to go into the Country, he would not suffer him to stir till he sent for his Son, the Lord *Strange*, and left him as an Hostage with him. And discovering that the Malcontents had contriv'd to unite the Friends of the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* against him, by marrying the Earl of *Richmond* to the Princess *Elizabeth*, 'tis said, he resolv'd to marry her himself, notwithstanding she was his Niece, and his Wife was living; and tho' I do not give intire Credit to this, yet it is evident, he imagin'd it would be no small Advantage to him, to gain over the Queen Dowager and her Daughters to his Party; accordingly we find he made them great Offers, if they would quit the Sanctuary and come to Court, which he at length prevail'd on them to do. He also persuaded the Queen to write to her Son the Marquis of *Dorset* in *France*, to quit the Earl's Service and come to *England*, which the Marquis had in a man-

*K. Richard*  
jealous of  
the Lord  
*Stanley*.

He pre-  
vails on  
the Queen  
Dowager  
and her  
Daughters  
to quit the  
Sanctuary  
and come  
to Court.

*A.D.* 1484 ner consented to, but was afterwards dissuaded from it. In this critical Juncture King *Richard's* Queen died, which gave the World Occasion to say, she was poyson'd by him to make way for his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*; tho' others affirm she had labour'd under a long Illness, and her Death expected some time. Some relate, that *Richard* courted the Princess *Elizabeth* during his Wife's Life, and that she even then accepted his Addresses, and express'd her Uneasiness that the Queen liv'd so long: While others affirm, that she always abhor'd the Proposal: And a third Set of People affirm, that the King never intended to marry the Princess, but only to preserve a good Understanding with her, as she was the Heiress of the House of *York*, and might be of Use to him, in keeping that Party firm to him. But however that was, *Richard* appears to have had very little dread of the Earl of *Richmond* at this time, for tho' he had kept a Fleet in the Channel to prevent an Invasion, ever since the last Attempt, he thought fit to save that Expence this Year, and order the Ships to return into their respective Harbours. Of which the Earl of *Richmond* being inform'd, he applied himself again to the Court of *France* for Assistance, who thought fit to furnish him with a few Ships, and two or three thousand Men, rather with a View of fomenting the Divisions in *England* (which the *French* seldom miss any Opportunities of doing) than with any Expectation that this inconsiderable Force could set *Henry* upon that Throne. However, the Earl being appriz'd that the Nation was almost unanimous for him, he embark'd at *Harfleur* the last of

July,



July, and on the 6th of *August* landed at *Milford Haven* in *Wales*, from whence he march'd to *Shrewsbury*; and here *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, with most of the Gentry of *Wales*, join'd him. The Lord *Stanley*, and his Brother *Sir William Stanley*, had been raising Forces for some time in *Warwickshire*, under pretence of opposing the Earl, the Lord *Stanley* not daring to declare for him, because his Son, the Lord *Strange*, was in the King's Power; however, he found Means to acquaint the Earl of *Richmond*, that he should not want his Assistance at a proper time: Whereupon the Earl ventur'd to advance to *Litchfield*.

*A. D. 1484*  
*A. 2 Rich. 3*  
Lands in  
*Wales.*

The King, who was come as far as *Nottingham*, resolv'd to march in Person, and attack his Enemies before their Numbers were increas'd; and tho' several of his Officers and Soldiers deserted him, he was not discourag'd, but continu'd his March till he came near *Bosworth*, about seven Miles to the Westward of *Leicester*, where receiving Advice that the Enemy was not far off, he drew up his Army in a fine Plain in order to receive them, sending Word to the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother to come and join him. The Earl of *Richmond* entering the Plain about the same time, drew up his Army also in order of Battel; and while the Army stood facing each other, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother appear'd and posted their Troops over-against the Intervals, between the Forces of the Royalists and those of the Earl of *Richmond*. Whereupon the King sent to the Lord *Stanley* again to join him; but *Stanley* answer'd, he would come when he saw fit: From whence the King concluding he must look upon him as an Enemy, order'd his Son the Lord *Strange*'s Head to be taken off,

The  
King's  
Army and  
the Earl's  
meet in the  
Fields of  
*Bosworth.*

*A.D.* 1484 off, but afterwards countermanded that Order, upon his Friends representing to him that this would infallibly make the Lord *Stanley* his Enemy, whereas he might possibly remain Neuter if the Life of his Son was still in Suspence.

The  
Number  
of the re-  
spective  
Armies.

These Armies, which were to determine the Fate of a Kingdom, are represented to be exceeding small. That of the King's is said to consist of about ten thousand Men, and the Earl of *Richmond*'s not to be above five. The Lord *Stanley*'s Body about three thousand Men, and that of his Brother, Sir *William Stanley*, but two. It is probable that the Number of the Earl of *Richmond*'s Forces is much lessen'd, that his Courage and Conduct might be the more admir'd; for we find he brought over with him two thousand *French*, besides *English*; that the Gentry of *Wales* unanimously join'd him; that he afterwards march'd from *Wales* as far as *Litchfield*, daily encreasing his Numbers, and that great part of the King's Troops deserted over to him: From whence 'tis reasonable to conclude, that the Earl of *Richmond*'s Army consisted of more than five thousand Men, very probably they were three times that Number. But whatever were the Numbers of the respective Armies, they came to an Engagement in the Fields of *Bosworth* on the twenty-second Day of *August*; and the Earl of *Richmond* was so bravely charg'd by King *Richard*, that his Troops began to give Ground, the Earl himself being in a great deal of Danger; for the King discovering him in the Field, rode up directly to him, offering to determine their Quarrel by single Combat; but the Earl declin'd the Engagement, suffering several Knights

The Bat-  
tel of  
*Bosworth*.

Knights to interpose between him and Danger. However, the King came so near him as to kill Sir *William Brandon* his Standard-bearer, and dismounted Sir *John Cheney*, one of the strongest and bravest Knights in the Earl's Army; but the Lord *Stanley*, and his Brother Sir *William Stanley*, falling upon the Flanks of the Royal Army at this critical Juncture, the King was oblig'd to leave the Earl to give fresh Orders to his Troops, who were put into Disorder by the *Stanleys*; and possibly the King might have restor'd the Battel, had not the Earl of *Northumberland*, who commanded one Wing of his Army, prov'd false to him also, and order'd his Men to throw down their Arms: Which the King observing, and finding the Day was lost, with some few Followers, bravely rush'd among the thickest of his Enemies, and met with the Death he desir'd; for it seems a swift Horse had been brought him to make his Escape out of the Battel, but he refus'd to fly; he would not survive the Day in which he saw himself so generally abandon'd by his Subjects. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and about a thousand Men, were kill'd on the King's side, and on the Earl of *Richmond's* not above an hundred, among whom there were no Persons of Distinction, unless Sir *William Brandon* the Standard-bearer, Father of *Charles Brandon*, afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*. The Earl of *Surrey*, Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, was taken Prisoner, with the infamous *Catesby*, and some other of the King's wicked Instruments. *Catesby* and his Accomplices were beheaded immediately after the Battel; but the Earl of *Surrey* obtain'd his Liberty within a few Months.

*A.D. 1484*

*A. 2 Rich. 3*

The Lord Stanley joins the Earl of Richmond.

*Northumberland treacherous.*

The King is defeated and kill'd.



The Earl  
of *Rich-*  
*mond*  
crown'd  
and pro-  
claim'd  
King in  
the Field  
of Battel.

The Battel was no sooner over, but the Lord *Stanley* took the Crown which King *Richard* wore that Day, and set it upon the Earl of *Richmond's* Head; whereupon the Army shouted; and cry'd out; *Long live K. Henry VII.* and from this Instant the Earl took upon him the Stile and Authority of King of *England*. The late King *Richard's* Body was found in the Field cover'd with Blood and Wounds, and in this Condition was laid cross a Horse, like the Carcass of a Deer, and carried to *Leicester*; where, having been expos'd two Days to the View of all People, it was interr'd in a Church there without Funeral Rites.

King *Richard's*  
Person and  
Character.

If we Credit some of our Historians, the Person of this Prince was as shocking as his Morals. *Holingshead* says he was low of Stature, and greatly deform'd, one Shoulder being higher than the other, his Face small, his Looks cruel, and by his Countenance you might discern he was full of Malice and Deceit; but there are two Circumstances that seem to contradict the common Opinion concerning the Deformity of his Person, one of which is, the Description that *Shaw* gives of him in his Sermon at *St. Paul's*, where, supposing *Richard* at that Instant entering the Church, he cries out, *Behold this illustrious Prince, the glorious Image of his noble Father; &c.* Now had *Richard* been that crooked deform'd Mortal, with a wither'd distorted Countenance; as he is represented, instead of raising in the People an advantageous Idea of the Protector, his Speech would have look'd more like Banter than an Encomium, and naturally have drawn both on the Preacher and the Prince the Contempt of the Audience.

The

The other Circumſtance, which would incline one to believe *Richard* was a ſtrong well-ſet Man, is, his gallant Behaviour in ſeveral Battels, particularly at *Bosworth*, where he kill'd the Earl of *Richmond*'s Standard-bearer; and diſmounted Sir *John Cheney*, the ſtrongest Knight in his Army, and this at a time when there was no ſuch thing as Piſtols or Fire-Arms; but the Succeſs of an Encounter depended very much on the Strength and Stature of the Hero: As to the reſt of his Character, there is no doubt but the Lord *Bacon* was better qualify'd to give it us than any Perſon of the preſent Age can be: This great Author informs us, ' That the Body of *Richard III.* ' after many Indignities and Reproaches, (the ' Dirgies and Obſequies of the common People towards Tyrants) was obſcurely buried; ' for tho' the King of his Nobleneſs gave ' charge unto the Friars of *Leiceſter* to ſee an ' honourable Interment to be given to it, yet ' the Religious People themſelves (being not ' free from the Humours of the Vulgar) neglected it, wherein, nevertheless, they did ' not then incur any Man's Blame or Censure; ' no Man thinking an Ignominy or Contumely unworthy of him that had been the ' Executioner of King *Henry VI* (that innocent Prince) with his own Hands, the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, the Murderer of his two Nephews, (one of them his lawful King in the preſent, and the other in the future ſailing of him) and vehemently ſuſpected, to have been the Impoiſoner of his Wife, thereby ' to make vacant his Bed for a Marriage ' within the Degrees forbidden: And altho' ' he was a Prince in Military Virtue ap-

prov'd, jealous of the Honour of the *Engl<sup>i</sup>*  
*lish* Nation, and likewise a good Law-maker  
 for the Ease and Solace of the common Peo-  
 ple, yet his Cruelties and Parricides, in the  
 Opinion of all Men, weigh'd down his Vir-  
 tues and Merits; and, in the Opinion of  
 wise Men, even those Virtues themselves  
 were conceiv'd to be rather feign'd and  
 affected things to serve his Ambition, than  
 true Qualities ingenerate in his Judgment  
 or Nature. And therefore it was noted by  
 Men of great Understanding, (who seeing  
 his After-Acts, look'd back upon his for-  
 mer Proceedings) that even in the time of  
 King *Edward*, his Brother, he was not  
 without secret Trains and Mines to turn  
 Envy and Hatred upon his Brother's Go-  
 vernment, as having an Expectation, and  
 a kind of Divination, that the King, by  
 reason of his many Disorders, could not be  
 of long Life, but was like to leave his Sons  
 of tender Years, and then he knew well how  
 easy a Step it was from the Place of a Pro-  
 tector and first Prince of the Blood, to the  
 Crown; and that out of this deep Root of  
 Ambition it sprang, that as well at the  
 Treaty of Peace that pass'd between  
*Edward* IV. and *Lewis* XI. of *France*, con-  
 cluded by Interview of both Kings at *Pi-*  
*queny*, as upon all other Occasions, *Richard*  
 then Duke of *Gloucester* stood ever upon the  
 side of Honour, raising his own Reputation  
 to the Disadvantage of the King his Brother,  
 and drawing the Eyes of all (especially the  
 Nobles and Soldiers) upon himself, as if the  
 King, by his voluptuous Life and mean  
 Marriage, were become effeminate, and less  
 sensible of Honour and Reason of State  
 than



‘ than was fit for a King. And as for the  
 ‘ politick and wholesome Laws which were  
 ‘ enacted in his time, they were interpreted to  
 ‘ be but the Brokage of an Usurper, thereby  
 ‘ to woo and win the Hearts of the People,  
 ‘ as being conscious to himself that the true  
 ‘ Obligations of Sovereign in him fail’d and  
 ‘ were wanting.’

King *Richard* III. appears to have been a Prince of great Sagacity and Courage ; but seems to have abandon’d all Religion and Conscience when he fix’d his Eyes upon the Crown : He thought neither Friends, Relations, Honour, or even Heaven itself, ought to come in competition with the glorious Bauble.

Mr. *Buck* endeavours to excuse, or at least palliate his Crimes, by shewing that many great Princes have arriv’d at Empire by as vile Means : He says, we easily forgive *Henry* I, *Edward* III, *Henry* IV, and *Henry* VII, because they had their happy Stars, and Success attended them : *Prosperum Scelus Virtus vocatur.*

That *Julius Cæsar* is reputed a wise and great Captain, altho’ his Ambition cost an infinite Quantity of excellent human Blood ; and his Nephew *Augustus* never ceas’d proscribing, banishing, and massacring, till he had dispatch’d all his Competitors. *Poly-nices* the Brother of *Eteocles* held that a Kingdom cou’d not be purchas’d at too high a Rate, even with the Destruction of Friends, Kindred, Wife, and Riches. And according to *Seneca* in *Trag.*

*By Fraud or Theft to seize a Crown  
Is the old Game long since to Princes known,*

And King *Atreus* by his own Experience  
cou'd say,

*Dominion teaches every wicked Art.*

But Mr. *Buck* does not only seem to countenance King *Richard's* Practices by many great Examples, but he endeavours sometimes to shew he was really innocent of what he was charg'd with : He inclines to that Opinion that the Crown of *England* of Right belong'd to him as that most servile Parliament in his Reign, enacted, that the Duke of *Clarence* and his Issue were disabled to inherit by an Act of Attainder ; and the Issue of King *Edward IV.* were spurious, by reason of a Pre-contract between King *Edward* and the Lady *Eleanor*.

In answer to this, I perceive it is held to be an unwarrantable Proceeding to endeavour to bastardize the Issue after the Death of the Father, when no Process was begun in order to it in his Life-Time. And I think our Lawyers generally agree that the Succession of the Crown is not bound by any Act of Attainder ; but that the Descent of it wipes off all Defects. And if either of these Points be tenable, King *Richard's* Title will not be mended, tho' we admit the Facts Mr. *Buck* insists on to be true.

Mr. *Buck* proceeds further, and endeavours to clear him of that barbarous Act, the Murder of his Nephews, by pretending to shew he cou'd have no Interest in it, they being declar'd Bastards, and disabled to inherit  
by

by Parliament. But he very well knew the Nation was never satisfied in this Matter, and that nothing is so common as for Parliaments to pass inconsistent Acts, and repeal one Year what they enacted another, and therefore nothing cou'd so effectually secure his Possession of the Throne as the taking off his Nephews. And if Mr. *Buck* will admit his murdering *Henry VI.* and his Brother *Clarence*, which are imputed to him, People will make no great Difficulty of believing him the Author of the other, especially having so great Authorities as Sir *Thomas More* and the Lord *Verulam* to confirm them in that Opinion.

Then as to his poysoning his Queen, or breaking her Heart by ill Usage, with which he is charg'd; this Mr. *Buck* holds there was no manner of occasion for, since he might have been divorc'd from her by the Pope or the Parliament, as *Henry VIII.* was from Queen *Katherine* and *Anne of Cleve*; and many other Examples he gives us of this Kind, both from sacred and profane Histories. And indeed in those Days the Popes Bulls in such Cases were held sacred and decisive, and were often obtain'd for Money, Parliaments too were extremely complaisant, and seldom refus'd any thing the King demanded: They tamely resign'd their Integrity and Understandings to the good Will and Pleasure of the Prince, and therefore one wou'd have thought the King shou'd have taken the Way of Divorce rather than that of her Death, which must render him so odious, unless he thought the former might prove too dilatory for his Purpose, or that his Rival was more in the Pope's Favour than himself.

There is no doubt but King *Richard's* Ambition prompted him to commit many Acts  
of



of Cruelty and Injustice ; but he may probably be charg'd with more than he was really guilty of ; for when a Man has once obtain'd an ill Reputation the World make no Difficulty of believing every thing that is ill of him afterwards : Every ill-natur'd Suggestion passes for an establish'd Truth, and they will not allow the obnoxious Person to be Master of one good Quality : As in the Case before us, his very Person must be deform'd, and his Countenance distorted, to render him the more detested ; whereas in truth there is no Man so accomplish'd but has some Blemishes, nor no Man so deprav'd but he may retain many good Qualities.

And so bravely as this Prince behav'd himself at the Battel of *Bosworth*, surely his Rival was infinitely to blame to suffer his dead Body to be mangled and treated in that ignominious Manner it was : This is what might have been expected from an insolent Mob, but very ill became a Hero to connive at.

King Richard's  
Marriage  
and Issue.

*Richard III.* married *Anne* the second Daughter of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*, who had been before espous'd to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Son of *Henry VI.* He had Issue by her *Edward* his only Son, created Earl of *Salisbury* by his Uncle *Edward IV.* and Prince of *Wales* by his Father *Richard III.* when he was about ten Years of Age ; but he died in the Life-time of his Father.

Statutes  
pass'd in  
this Reign.

The most material Statutes pass'd in this Reign, besides those relating to the Succession of the Crown already mentioned, were,

Benevo-  
lence.

An Act of the 1 *Ri. 3. cap. 1.* Declaring that no Money shou'd afterwards be levy'd on the Subject by way of *Benevolence*, which was so denominated under a Pretence it was freely

freely given, whereas it was frequently *extorted* from private People out of Parliament: The King us'd to name the Sum he wou'd accept, and it was dangerous refusing him.

An Act of 1 Ri. 3. which impower'd Ju-<sup>Bail.</sup>stices of Peace to admit Persons to Bail who were suspected guilty of Felony: And prohibiting Sheriffs to seize the Goods of a Sheriff Person charg'd with Felony, before he was convicted.

An Act of 1 Ri. 3. Cap. 7. Declaring what <sup>Fines.</sup> Persons shall be bound by Fines levy'd in the Court of Common Pleas; with several other good Statutes for the Encouragement of Trade and Manufactures.

A.D. 1485

A. 1 Hen. 7

## C H A P. XXIX.

*Contains the Reign of HENRY VII.*

The Ac-  
cession of  
*Hen. 7.*

Princess  
*Elizabeth*  
set at Liber-  
ty.

THE Earl of *Richmond* having been complimented with the Title of King at the Head of his Army, from that Moment took upon him the Regal Authority, and was recogniz'd by the whole Kingdom; tho' it wou'd be extremely difficult to discover any Right he had to the Crown, unless the Suffrages of the Soldiers gave him one, which will be consider'd in another Place. From *Leicester* *Henry* by slow Marches advanc'd to *London*, having first given Orders for setting at Liberty the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was confin'd in the Castle of *Sheriff Hutton* in *Yorkshire*; but the Earl of *Warwick*, Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was imprison'd in the same Castle, was only remov'd from thence to the Tower of *London*, where he remain'd a Prisoner till his Death.

The new King was every where receiv'd with Abundance of Joy; the People look'd upon him as their Deliverer, not only from a Tyrannical Prince, but from those Civil Feuds which had distracted the Kingdom for more than fourscore Years past. They expected that his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth* wou'd infallibly put an End to the bloody Disputes between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and that the whole Nation wou'd from thenceforward equally share their Sovereign's Favour; and had not *Henry* from the Beginning of his Reign shewn a remarkable Prejudice against the Friends of the House of *York*, which were by far the greatest part of the





HENRY.VII.



the Nation, both Prince and People wou'd probably have enjoy'd a lasting Tranquility. A.D. 1485

The King enter'd *London* in a close Chariot, and going immediately to *St. Paul's*, *Te Deum* was sung for his Success, and the Standards and Colours taken at the Battel of *Stoke*, hung up in the Church as Trophies of his Victory. After which he renew'd his Engagements to marry the Princess *Elizabeth* before the Nobility; tho' 'tis very evident he never intended to have married her if he cou'd possibly have maintain'd himself in the Throne without it; so averse was he to the *Yorkists*. A. 1 Hen. 7  
The King comes to London.

A Distemper call'd the Sweating Sicknes TheSweatingSicknes  
raged mightily in *London* at this time, destroying a Multitude of People. It usually carried off the sick in twenty-four Hours: If they liv'd longer they recover'd. The Physicians were so happy as to discover the Method of curing it in a little time, which was only by keeping the Patient moderately warm, and giving him Cordials that were not too strong; so that within a little more than a Month the Towns became pretty healthful again. Whereupon the King's Coronation was solemniz'd on the 30th of *October*, when he created his Uncle *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Companion and Partaker of all his good and bad Fortune, Duke of *Bedford*; the Lord *Stanley*, who had married his Mother the Countess of *Richmond*, and contributed so considerably to the Victory of *Stoke*, Earl of *Derby*; and Sir *Edward Courtney*, who had brought over the West of *England* to his Party, Earl of *Devon*. The Coronation.  
Creations.

The Parliament being assembled on the seventh of *November*, their first Business was to recognize the King upon the Throne, and the Succession. TheParliament settle the Succession.



A.D. 1485

A. 1 Hen. 7

Members  
attainted  
restor'd to  
Blood, &c.

Resolv'd,  
that the  
Crown  
takes a-  
way all  
Defects.

King Ri-  
chard and  
his Adhe-  
rents at-  
tainted.

corroborate his Title in such a manner as he was pleas'd to dictate to them. But it appearing that several Members had been return'd who were attainted in the Reign of *Richard 3.* the Opinion of the Judges was demanded as to their sitting in the House, and it was determin'd they cou'd not sit in the House 'till an Act of Parliament pass'd to reverse their Attainders. It was demanded also what was to be done in the King's Case, who stood attainted with his Friends; to which it was answer'd, that the Crown took away all Defects; from the Moment he ascended the Throne all Attainders and Corruption of Blood were discharg'd, and therefore there needed no Act to restore him: But it was order'd however that all Acts and Records wherein there was any mention of the King's Attainder, shou'd be taken off the File and destroy'd.

At the same time King *Richard* was attainted by the Name of *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, with his Adherents, among whom the principal were, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord Viscount *Lovel*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Zouch*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*. Soon after which the King publish'd a Pardon for all those who were not attainted by this Act, provided they submitted by a certain Day, and took the Oath of Allegiance to him. Whereupon most of the *Yorkists* who had taken Sanctuary, or conceal'd themselves, appear'd and took Advantage of the Pardon; tho' the Lord *Lovel*, and some others, who had been Favourites in the late Reign, did not think fit to trust to it, but continu'd in their Sanctuaries. This being the first Parliament of *Henry's* Reign, he demanded no Supplies, pro-

posing

posing thereby to ingratiate himself with the People ; and indeed he had very little Occasion for any ; the Confiscations of the Estates of the late King, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the rest of his Adherents, mention'd in the above-said Act, being abundantly sufficient to supply his Necessities. However, he thought fit to make some Trial of his Credit in the City of *London*, under Pretence he wanted Money to redeem the Hostages he had left at the *French Court* to secure the Payment of the Charges of his Expedition to *England*, he wou'd have borrow'd six thousand Marks of the City on this Occasion ; but as his Government was yet scarce settled, they did not think fit to oblige him with more than two thousand Pounds.

A.D. 1485

A. Hen. 7

He borrows Money of the City.

At the Rising of the Parliament there were several Creations and Promotions ; the Lord *Chandis* of *Bretagne* was made Earl of *Bath* ; Sir *Giles D'Aubeny*, Baron *D'Aubeny* ; and Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Lord *Brook* : The Lord *Edward Stafford* also was restor'd to the Dignity of Duke of *Buckingham*, which the Duke his Father had forfeited by Treason committed against the late King *Richard* ; Dr. *John Moreton*, who had been so instrumental in bringing in the King, was call'd to the Privy Cuncil ; and Dr. *Richard Fox*, an Ecclesiastick of great Parts and Learning, who came over from *France* with him, was made a Privy Counsellor also, and Lord Privy Seal.

Creations and Promotions.

And now the Parliament having confirm'd *Henry* in the Throne, without taking Notice by what Title he possess'd it, he thought fit to give the People some further Satisfaction, by marrying the Princess *Elizabeth*, Heiress

The King marries the Princess *Elizabeth*.

A.D. 1486 of the House of *York*, which he deferr'd to do till this time, 'tis said, lest he shou'd be thought he held the Crown in his Wife's Right : " The Marriage was solemniz'd on " the 18th of *January*, 1486, with greater " Triumph and Demonstrations of Joy on " the People's Part, (my Lord *Bacon* observes) " than either the Days of his Entry or Coronation ; which the King rather noted than lik'd. Adding, that during the Queen's whole Life he shew'd himself no very indulgent Husband to her, tho' she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. His Aversion to the House of *York* was so predominant in him, that it found Place not only in his Wars and Councils, but in his Chamber and Bed.

The Pope's  
Bull to confirm the  
King's  
Marriage.

As the King and Queen were both descend-  
ed from *Edward III.* it was thought necessary a little before the Marriage to have a Dispensation, which was accordingly obtain'd from the Commissioners constituted by the Pope's Legate in *England* to grant them ; but lest any Objection shou'd hereafter be alledg'd against the Legality of that Dispensation, a Bull was obtain'd from the Pope after the Marriage, to confirm and ratify it, wherein he declares the Issue of that Marriage legitimate, approves the Act of Parliament limiting the Succession of the Crown to *Henry* and his Heirs, and requires the Subjects of *England* to maintain and defend it, declaring all Persons excommunicated who shou'd controvert that Settlement.

The King understanding that the Northern Counties were more averse to his Government than any other, he visited that Part of *England* in the Spring, proposing either to awe the People into Submission by his Presence



or gain their Affections by Acts of Popularity. *A.D. 1486*  
 But while he celebrated the Festival of *Easter*  
 at *Lincoln* he receiv'd Advice that the Lord *A. 2 Hen. 7*  
*Lovel*, with *Humphry* and *Thomas Stafford*, An Insur-  
 who had taken Sanctuary at *Colchester*, were rection in  
 departed privately from thence, and being *Yorkshire*.  
 arriv'd at *York*, he was inform'd that the Lord  
*Lovel* was marching towards him with a Body  
 of Troops, and that the *Staffords* were assem-  
 bling their Friends in *Worcestershire*. The  
 King was under some Concern at this Insur-  
 rection, being in a Country where he had  
 but very little Dependance on the Inhabitants.  
 However, he put the best Face upon the  
 Matter, and having assembled some Troops  
 in the Country, he added Part of his own  
 Retinue to them, making in all about three  
 thousand Men: These he sent under the Com-  
 mand of the Duke of *Bedford* to oppose the  
 Lord *Lovel*, ordering him at the same time to  
 offer the Rebels a Pardon. The Duke of  
*Bedford* had very little Hopes of Success from  
 an Engagement, as his Troops were new-  
 rais'd Men, inferior in Number to the Ene-  
 my, and but slightly arm'd: When he had  
 posted his little Army therefore to the best  
 Advantage, he publish'd the King's Pardon,  
 which did his Business without fighting; for  
 the Lord *Lovel* was so apprehensive that his  
 Followers wou'd take the Advantage of it  
 and desert him, that he abandon'd them in  
 the Night-time, fled into *Lancashire*, and after-  
 wards to *Flanders*; whereupon his Men laid  
 down their Arms. The *Staffords* also hearing  
 the Lord *Lovel* was fled, dispers'd their Troops  
 and took Sanctuary at the Village of *Colnham*  
 near *Abington*, which being adjudg'd not a  
 sufficient Sanction for Traitors, they were  
 taken

*A.D.* 1486 taken from thence by Force, and *Humphry* the eldest Brother, executed at *Tyburn*; but *Thomas* being drawn in by his Brother, was pardon'd; and this, like other unsuccessful Insurrections, serv'd only to fix *Henry* the more firmly in the Throne.

*Prince Ar-* The Queen's being brought to Bed of a  
*thur* born. Son this Year, on the 20th of *September*, contributed still more to his Establishment; the young Prince was nam'd *Arthur*, insinuating thereby, that he was descended from the famous *British* Monarch of that Name, the King being himself of *Welsh* Extraction, viz. the Grandson of *Owen Tudor*, by *Katherine* Queen Dowager of *Henry VI.* This Year the See of *Canterbury* becoming vacant by the Death of Cardinal *Bourchier*, Dr. *Moreton* Bishop of *Ely*, the King's favourite Bishop, succeeded him.

Dr. *More-*  
ton made  
Archbi-  
shop of  
*Canterbury*  
The King  
discounte-  
nances the  
*Yorkists.* The King looking upon himself now to be so firmly settled in his Throne, that he might indulge his own Humour in the Disposal of Places of Profit and Trust, shew'd an apparent Partiality to the *Lancastrian* Interest, and discountenanc'd the *Yorkists*, who were by far the greatest part of the Nation, nay he still deferr'd the Coronation of the Queen, tho' she had brought him a Son, least he should be thought to Reign in her Right, who was Heiress of the House of *York.* It was currently reported also, that he intended to destroy the young Earl of *Warwick*, Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was a Prisoner in the Tower, because he was of the same Family, which very much alienated the Hearts of the King's Subjects from him. About the same time there was a Rumour, that *Edward V.* or his Brother the Duke of *York*, were still alive. While

While the Government was distracted by these various Reports, one *Richard Simon*, a Member of the University of *Oxford*, having among his Pupils, a beautiful Lad of a Majestick Mien, and capable of receiving any Impressions, he look'd upon him to be a very proper Instrument, to personate the Duke of *York*, and either out of Hatred to the King, or in hopes of advancing his own Fortunes, propos'd to set him up against *Henry*. He communicated this Design to some of the Heads of the *Yorkists*, by whose Assistance he instructed young *Simnel*, who was but the Son of a Baker, in all such Facts as might induce the People to believe he really was the Prince he personated; but while they were busy in instructing him to play the Duke of *York*, a Rumour being spread, that the Earl of *Warwick* had made his Escape out of the Tower, at which the People seem'd overjoy'd, *Simon* and his Adherents, alter'd their Original Design, and thought fit to call their Pupil, Earl of *Warwick*.

The King not having yet made any Alteration in the Government of *Ireland*, and that Country being extremely devoted to the House of *York*, it was thought proper that *Simon*, and the Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, should first make their Appearance there; and, it seems, *Simnel* was so well instructed to act his part, that *Fitz-Gerald* the Deputy really took him for the Nobleman he personated, gave him the Castle of *Dublin* for his Residence, and shortly after proclaim'd him King, all *Ireland* submitting to *Simnel* as their Sovereign.

King *Henry* concluding that his Mother-in-Law, the Queen Dowager, was at the bottom

A.D. 1486

A.2 Hen. 7.

An Insurrection  
fomented  
under *Simnel*  
the  
counterfeit  
Earl of  
*Warwick*.

*Simnel*  
proclaim'd  
King in  
*Ireland*.



*A.D.* 1486 bottom of this Plot, order'd her to be apprehended, and made Prisoner in the Abby of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, and seiz'd on all her Lands and Revenues, without allowing her a Legal Trial, and 'tis very probable he had not Evidence sufficient to convict her of the Conspiracy, for he pretended he exercis'd this Severity towards his Mother, on Account of her delivering up her Daughters to King *Richard*. But all the World stood amaz'd at this ingrateful Prosecution of his Wife's Mother, who had in reality advanc'd him to the Throne. To undeceive the People, in relation to the Escape of the Earl of *Warwick*, the King order'd him to attend at a solemn Procession to *St. Paul's*, where all the Citizens of *London* might have an Opportunity of viewing him. At which time several Persons of Distinction, who were well affected to the House of *York*, had an Opportunity of conversing freely with the Earl, that they might contribute to undeceive the People, after which he was committed to the Tower again. However the *Irish* still gave out, that *Simnel* was the real Earl of *Warwick*, and the Person the King had expos'd at *St. Paul's*, a Counterfeit. In the mean time the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son of *John de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sister of the two last Kings *Edward IV.* and *Richard III.* who had been declar'd Heir to the Crown by his Uncle King *Richard*, made his Escape over into *Flanders* to *Margaret* Dutcheß of *Burgundy*, another of the late King's Sisters, who had at this time the Education of the Archduke *Philip* committed to her, and was obey'd by the *Flemmings* during his Minority, as their Sovereign.

*A. 2 Hen. 7.*  
  
*K. Henry*  
 imprisons  
 his Mother  
 the Queen  
 Dowager.

The true  
 Earl of  
*Warwick*  
 shewn to  
 the People.

The Earl  
 of *Lincoln*  
 escapes to  
*Flanders*.

This Princess, when she saw how King Henry endeavour'd to depress the House of York, and had got the Crown settled upon himself and his Issue, to the Exclusion of the Queen her Niece, became his avow'd Enemy, and readily gave Protection to all the *English* Malecontents; and the *Irish* had no sooner proclaim'd the Earl of *Warwick* King, but she sent them a Reinforcement of two thousand *Germans*, commanded by Colonel *Martin Swart*, who was accompany'd thither by the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, and the rest of the *English* Malecontents in her Court.

A.D. 1486

A. 2 Hen. 7.

Margaret  
Duchess  
of Burgundy  
assists the  
Malecon-  
tents.

The King in the mean time assembled two Armies, one of which he posted on the Coasts of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, in order to defend those Counties against an Invasion from *Flanders*; and the other in the *West of England*, to prevent a Descent from *Ireland*, and in the beginning of the Year, 1487, he visited the Sea-Coasts, and the great Towns in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, to see them put into a Condition to resist the Enemy. While he was at *St. Edmondsbury*, he heard the Marquis of *Dorset* was coming to him, to make him a tender of his Service. But the King suspecting him to be in the Interest of his Enemies order'd the Marquis to be apprehended, and committed to the Tower of *London*. He let him know at the same time, that it was only to prevent his being drawn into a Conspiracy, that he confin'd him for the present; and that he should be restor'd to his Liberty again, as soon as the Kingdom was reduc'd to a settled State.

A.D. 1487

A. 3 Hen. 7.

K. Henry  
raises two  
Armies.

While Henry was taking Measures for the Defence of *England*, the Earl of *Lincoln*,

*A.D.* 1487 and the Malecontents in *Ireland*, caus'd *Sim-*  
*nel*, the pretended King, to be Crown'd at  
*A.3 Hen. 7.* *Dublin*, making use of a Crown they took  
 from one of the Images of the Virgin *Mary*  
*Simnel* crown'd in for that Purpose. After which they ventur'd  
*Ireland.* to embark for *England*, and landed in *Lan-*  
*Lands in* *cashire*, where being join'd by Sir *Robert*  
*England.* *Broughton*, they advanc'd towards *York*, ex-  
 pecting to be join'd by the Country in their  
 March; but no Body came in to them, ex-  
 cept Sir *Robert Broughton* already mention'd,  
 and his Party. The *English* were convinc'd  
 of the Imposture, and did not care to hazard  
 their Lives in an Enterprize, which they were  
 not satisfisd in the Justice of, and from the  
 Success of which they could discern no Ad-  
 vantage like to accrue, either to the *Yorkists*  
 or the Kingdom. Tho' possibly, had they  
 been acquainted with the Bottom of the De-  
 sign, which was to advance either the true  
 Earl of *Warwick*, or the Earl of *Lincoln*, to  
 the Throne, the People would have espous'd  
 the Cause more heartily.

The Earl of *Lincoln*, who commanded the  
 Malecontents, finding that his Army was rather  
 like to diminish than increase, alter'd his first  
 Design of going to *York*, and determin'd to  
 give the King Battel, who was advanc'd as  
 far as *Nottingham*, and accordingly the Earl  
 order'd a Detachment of his Forces to take  
 Possession of *Newark*, that he might com-  
 mand a Passage over the *Trent*; but the King  
 prevented him, by encamping between the  
 Malecontents and *Newark*. The Earl of  
*Lincoln* finding the King's Army to be fifteen  
 or sixteen thousand strong, and his own not  
 above half that Number, made choice of a  
 Spot of Ground to engage in, where he could  
 not



not be furrounded, and which was so narrow, *A.D. 1487*  
 that the King could not extend his Front be- *A.3 Hen. 7.*  
 yond that of the Malecontents. However,  
*Henry* relying upon the Superiority of his  
 Troops, having drawn up his Army in three  
 Lines, attack'd him in this Situation. The  
*Germans* and *Irish* defended themselves brave- The Battel  
 ly for three Hours, against the King's first of *Stoke,*  
 Line, but the Earl of *Lincoln* and Colonel  
*Swart* being kill'd, with most of the *Germans*,  
 the *Irish* turn'd their Backs and fled, The  
 Lord *Lovel* also is suppos'd to have died in  
 the Field, or to have been drown'd in the  
*Trent*, for he was never heard of more. This  
 Battel was fought on the 6th of *June*, near  
 the Village of *Stoke* in *Nottinghamshire*. *Sim-*  
*nel* and his Tutor being taken Prisoners,  
*Simnel* was made a Turn-spit in the King's  
 Kitchen, and the Priest was committed to  
 Prison; but it was never known whether he  
 died a natural Death, or by the Hands of  
 the Executioner. After the Battel the King  
 went to *York*, and caus'd great Numbers of  
 People to be apprehended and fin'd, for ha-  
 ving spread a Report, some little time before  
 the Battel, that the Royalists were routed.  
*He chose, says Rapin, to have them try'd by* *Rapin mi-*  
*Commissioners and Courts Martial, rather than* *staken as*  
*in the usual Course of Justice, because in Cases* *to Trials*  
*of this Nature, the Laws of England admit of* *by Courts-*  
*no mean between Death and acquitting, and the* *Martial.*  
*King desir'd neither; his sole Aim was to fill his*  
*Coffers, and therefore tried them by Commissioners*  
*and Court Martial.*

This Remark of Mr. *Rapin's*, I believe,  
 will not be easily understood, unless some of  
 his Friends will please to explain it; for if  
 the Learned in the Law inform me right,

A.D. 1487 the Law is the same, whether a Prisoner be tried by special Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, or at the Affizes, as to their Punishment; and if a Rebel be tried by a Court-Martial, he does not forfeit his Estate, tho' he be convicted and executed. But had those Delinquents been condemn'd in the ordinary Courts of Justice for High-Treason, and their Lands forfeited, I can't see why the King could not have pardon'd them their Lives, and taken the whole or part of their Estates, as he saw fit; or he might have order'd them to have been prosecuted for Misprision, and then their Lives would have been secur'd, and the King would have had their Estates; but Courts-Martial have nothing to do with the Criminal's Estate, when they have convicted him. *Henry VII.* might be as covetous as *Rapin* represents him, but that Writer was certainly guilty of a gross Mistake, when he tells us, he order'd the Malecontents to be tried by a Court-Martial, in order to get them fin'd, or their Estates confiscated, because a Man forfeits nothing on a Conviction by a Court-Martial. And as the Fact in this Case is false, as in many others, all his pretty Remarks upon this Occasion must fall to the Ground with it. See the 8vo. Edition of the Translation of *Rapin*, Vol. VI. 297, 298.

Sanctuaries regulated.

The King obtain'd a Bull from *Rome* about this time for the Regulation of Sanctuaries, where Offenders of all kinds were hitherto skreen'd from Justice. This Bull declar'd, that if any Murderers or Felons, who had been register'd for Sanctuary Men, should leave their Sanctuary and commit fresh Crimes, and then return to the Sanctuary again,

again, they might be taken from thence, by the Civil Magistrate. It ordain'd also, that Debtors, who had taken Sanctuary to defraud their Creditors, should be protected only in their Persons, and that their Goods, out of Sanctuary, should be liable to be seiz'd by their Creditors. And the King was allow'd to appoint Keepers to prevent the Escape of any that should take Sanctuary for High-Treason. And now the King being made sensible that his Prejudice to the House of York, and particularly that the Sights he had put upon the Queen, were the Occasion of the late Disturbances; in order to prevent Insurrections for the future, he did, with a very ill Grace, and abundance of Reluctance, cause the Queen to be crown'd at *Westminster*, on the 25th of *November*, which was about two Years after his Accession. He also set the Marquis of *Dorset*, the Queen's Brother, at Liberty, to ingratiate himself with the People.

A.D. 1487

A.3 Hen.7.

Queen  
crown'd.

The Duke of *Bretagne* and his Nobility being at Variance at this time, the *French* King, who had long fix'd his Eyes upon that Province, in order to unite it to his Dominions, sent an Army to the Assistance of the Malecontents, and possess'd himself of several considerable Towns. Whereupon the Duke of *Bretagne* sent to demand a Reinforcement of Troops of King *Henry*, representing the Services he had done him, in assisting him to mount the Throne of *England*; nor did he fail to remind him of the ill Consequence it must be to *England*, to let *Bretagne* fall into the Hands of the *French*. But *Charles* sending an Embassy to *Henry* at the same time, and shewing that he was much more

The French  
King in-  
vades Bre-  
tagne.



A.D. 1487

4:3 Hen. 7.

K. Henry  
offers his  
Mediation  
between  
France and  
Bretagne.

more oblig'd to *France* for his Success in *England*, than to the Duke ; and that the Duke was in reality the Aggressor, by giving Protection to the Duke of *Orleans*, and several other Malecontents : King *Henry*, instead of assisting either of them, offer'd his Mediation, which the *French* King pretended he was ready to accept, but still went on with his Conquests in *Bretagne*, infomuch that the whole Province was in Danger of being lost, if the Nobility, who dreaded coming under the *French* Yoke, had not in that Instant reconcil'd themselves to the Duke, and oppos'd the Progress of the *French*. The Lord *Woodville*, Uncle to the Queen of *England*, about the same time went with four hundred brave Volunteers to the Assistance of the Duke of *Bretagne*, tho' King *Henry* absolutely refus'd to give him leave to carry over that Reinforcement, being very cautious of disobliging either the *French* King or the Duke of *Bretagne*, lest they should assist the Malecontents in *England*, which he knew were still very numerous.

The King  
demands  
Money of  
the Parlia-  
ment to de-  
fund Bre-  
tagne.

However the King look'd upon the War in *Bretagne* as an excellent Pretence to draw Money from his Subjects, having assembled a Parliament therefore on the 9th of *November*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, then Lord Chancellor, open'd it with a Speech, wherein he told them, that his Highness was so sensible of their Affection for him, that he had determin'd to do nothing without their Advice ; that the *French* King, who was now attacking the Province of *Bretagne*, had represented to him, that he had no other Design in that Expedition, than to oblige the Duke of *Bretagne* to deliver up the Duke of *Orleans*,  
and

and other Malecontents, but it was to be suspected he had other Views. That the King had offer'd his Mediation, which tho' the *French* King accepted, yet he refus'd to discontinue the War, and there was Reason to fear that the Province would be lost, if the Duke was not timely assisted; he desir'd their Advice therefore, whether it would not be proper to send over a Reinforcement of Troops to *Bretagne*, and to enter into a Defensive Alliance with the Duke against *France*. Whereupon the Parliament, knowing the Importance of preventing *Bretagne's* being annex'd to the Crown of *France*, address'd the King to raise a sufficient Force to protect that Province, and granted him suitable Supplies. But the King rais'd no Troops, he put the Money in his Pocket, and only continu'd his Mediation between the two Powers, which the *French* King very little regarded, tho' he gave *Henry* very good Words, to prevail on him to stand Neuter, for which the King of *England* had a double Reason, viz. to heap up a Sum of Money, as has been intimated already, and because he did not think it safe to provoke the *French* King, while he had so many Enemies at Home. And thus the Welfare of the Kingdom was sacrific'd to the King's private Interest.

He puts the Supplies in his Pocket.

The Duke being unable to resist the Arms of *France*, now he was forsaken by *England*, sent an Embassy to *Charles* the *French* King, to beg a Peace; but *Charles* having concluded a Truce with *Henry*, went on with his Conquests, and would hear of no Terms of Accommodation. In this Distress the *Bretons* determin'd to make one great Effort to preserve

A.D. 1488

A. 4 Hen. 7.

The Duke of *Bretagne* begs a Peace of the *French* King in vain.

*A.D.* 1488 preserve their Country ; and having assembled all the Forces they could draw together, *A. 4 Hen. 7.* march'd to the Relief of *St. Aubin*, which was besieg'd by the *French*. As they approach'd the Town on the 28th of *July*, the *French* General *De la Tremoville* met the *Bretons* Army, and gave them Battel. The *Bretons* lost six or seven thousand Men, and were entirely defeated ; the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were made Prisoners ; and the Lord *Woodville*, and almost all the *English* he carried over with him, kill'd. They did not amount indeed to above four hundred Men ; but the *Bretons* had cloath'd fifteen hundred of their own Troops in the same Livery that Day, to render them the more terrible to their Enemies.

An Insurrection, occasion'd by the rigorous levying the Taxes.

In the mean time *Henry* was levying the Tax with the utmost Rigour in *England*, which had been given him to support the Duke of *Bretagne* ; tho' he was so far from applying it to the Use it was granted, that he actually abandon'd the Duke, and sign'd a Truce with *France*, as has been observ'd already. The People finding their Money thus notoriously misapply'd, began to murmur, and even refus'd the Payment of the Tax, particularly in the Counties of *York* and *Durham*, where the Collectors were forc'd to demand the Protection of the Earl of *Northumberland* to enable them to go on with their Levies. The Earl thereupon wrote to Court to know how he should proceed against those who refus'd the Tax ; the King answer'd, he would not abate one Penny of what the Parliament had given, which the Earl having communicated to the Country, the Populace imagining he had advis'd the King to return

this



this rough Answer, broke into the Earl's House and murder'd him, with several of his Servants. And as this part of the Country was more devoted to the House of *York* than any other, the Malecontents soon encreas'd their Numbers very considerably; and by the Advice of *John a Chamber*, one of the most popular Men amongst them, perswaded Sir *John Egremond* to be their General. After which they began their March towards *London*, determining, as they gave out, to deprive King *Henry* of his Crown; but the Earl of *Surry*, whom the King had set at Liberty and made General of his Army, meeting with the Malecontents before they had advanc'd far, gave them Battel and defeated them, and *Egremond* their Commander made his Escape into *Flanders* to the Dutchess of *Burgundy*. The King was marching with a Body of Troops towards *York* when he receiv'd the News of the Victory, and continuing his March to that City, he caus'd *John a Chamber* to be hang'd upon a Gallows of an unusual Height, and twelve more of the principal Mutineers on others something lower round about him. After which the King having constituted the Earl of *Surry* President of the North, and order'd the Tax to be levy'd without any Abatement, return'd to *London*, where finding the Murmurs of the People encrease at his suffering *Bretagne* to be swallow'd up by the *French* King, he declar'd his Resolution of sending a powerful Army to the Assistance of that Duke; which had such an Effect on *Charles* the *French* King, that he immediately struck up a Peace with the Duke, whereby he was to remain in Possession of the Places he had taken. On the ninth of Sep-

A.D. 1488

A. 4 Hen. 7.

The Earl of Northumberland murder'd.

The Malecontents defeated.

A Peace between France and Bretagne.

*A.D.* 1488 *t*ember following the Duke died, being succeeded by *Anne* his eldest Daughter, then about twelve Years of Age. The Marshal *Rieux* was appointed her Guardian ; but *Philip de Montauban*, Chancellor of *Bretagne*, got the young Dutcheſs into his Power, together with the Adminiſtration of the Government, which occaſion'd two Faſtions among the *Bretons*, and turn'd very much to their Prejudice.

*A. 4 Hen. 7.*  
 The Duke of *Bretagne* dies, and is ſucceeded by his Daughter *Anne*.

King *Henry* however declar'd he would take the young Dutcheſs of *Bretagne* under his Protection, and began not only to levy Troops but to form Alliances with *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the King of the *Romans*, in order to carry the War into *France*. And by a Treaty concluded with the Dutcheſs the 10th of *February* 1489, it was agreed, that *England* and *Bretagne* ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other in caſe either of them was attack'd. That if the King ſhould attempt the Recovery of *Guienne* or *Normandy*, the Dutcheſs ſhould aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of her Power. And on the other hand, the King was oblig'd to aſſiſt that Princeſs in the Recovery of that part of her Territories which *France* had ſeiz'd, and ſend over ſix thouſand Men into *Bretagne* for that purpoſe, the Dutcheſs repaying all the Expences the King ſhould be at in maintaining thoſe Troops, and transporting them backwards and forwards ; for the Security whereof the Dutcheſs was to deliver into the King's Hands two cautionary Towns : But if the King carried the War into *France* for the Recovery of his own Dominions, and was aſſiſted by the Dutcheſs in that Enterprize, her Charges were to be born by the King, and deducted out of the Money ſhe was to pay *Henry*. That the Dutcheſs ſhould ſwear not to demand the  
 cautionary

*A.D.* 1489  
*A. 5 Hen. 7.*  
 Treaty between *England* and *Bretagne*.

cautionary Towns till the whole Debt due to King *Henry* for his Assistance was paid. *A.D. 1489*  
 And that she would not enter into any Contract of Marriage, or any Treaty whatever, *A. 5 Hen. 7.*  
 without the King's Consent.

In Pursuance of this Treaty, six thousand *An English*  
*English* landed in *Bretagne* in the Month of *Army sent*  
*March*; and the *French* King apprehending *to Bretagne,*  
 that they would be follow'd by more, and  
 that an Alliance was forming against him by  
 the Princes of *Europe*, fraudulently offer'd to  
 refer all Differences between him and the  
 Dutcheſs of *Bretagne* to *Maximilian* King of  
 the *Romans*; which being agreed to on the  
 part of the Dutcheſs, an Award was made by  
*Maximilian*, That *Charles* should restore all  
 the Places he had taken in *Bretagne*, except  
*Dinant*, *St. Aubin*, *Fongeres*, and *St. Malo*,  
 which were to be put into the Hands of *Maxi-*  
*milian* and the Duke of *Bourbon* till all Matters  
 were adjusted: And as *Charles* agreed that the  
*French* Troops should evacuate *Bretagne*, so  
 the Dutcheſs consented that the *English* should  
 be sent home. *The Eng-*  
*lish sent*  
*home.* And this last Article, in rela-  
 tion to the sending back the *English*, was im-  
 mediately executed, only the five hundred  
 Men that were to garrison the two cautionary  
 Towns were left behind, which gave *Charles*  
 Occasion to insist that the Treaty, in relation  
 to the *English* Troops evacuating the Coun-  
 try, was not duly observ'd, and therefore he  
 refus'd to fulfil his part, namely, to with-  
 draw his Forces out of *Bretagne*; so that the  
 Dutcheſs was in Effect left to the Mercy of  
 her Enemies.

While things were in this state, a Treaty *Anne mar-*  
 of Marriage was set on Foot between *Maxi-*  
*milian* King of the *Romans*, and *Anne* Dutcheſs *ries Maxi-*  
*milian.*



*A.D.* 1489 of *Bretagne*, and carried on with extreme Priv-  
*A.5 Hen.7.* vicy, neither the *French* King nor the King of  
*England* being acquainted with it. The  
 Prince of *Nassau*, *Maximilian's* Ambassador,  
 concluded the Contract for his Master, and  
 afterwards, as his Proxy, married the Prin-  
 cess, who being laid in Bed the same Evening,  
 Prince *Nassau* put his naked Leg into the  
 Bed, which was intended to render the Match  
 as indissolvable as actual Consummation. This  
 is the first time we meet with any Ceremony  
 of that kind in the Marriages of Princes,  
 tho' at this Day it is very common.

King of  
*Scots* kill'd.

The Nobility of *Scotland* having taken up  
 Arms against their Sovereign King *James III.*  
 he was kill'd by them in a Battel the pre-  
 ceding Year, and succeeded by his Son  
*James IV.* who was then about fifteen Years  
 of Age.

*A.D.* 1490

*A.6 Hen.7.*

As the Court of *Bretagne* were very sensible  
 that the War would be renew'd by *France* as  
 soon as ever it should be discover'd that the  
 Dutcheſs had married the King of the *Romans*,  
 they sent to King *Henry* to demand fresh  
 Succours; but he not being acquainted with  
 the bottom of the Matter, contented himself  
 with sending an Embassy to *Charles* to offer  
 his Mediation again between him and the  
 Dutcheſs. The Ambassadors also had Or-  
 ders to demand the Arrears of the Tribute  
 which *Lewis XI.* had agreed to pay to the  
 Kings of *England* by the Treaty of *Pe-  
 quigny*, which amounted to one hundred and  
 twenty-five thousand Crowns: But the *French*  
 King sending Reinforcements to the Male-  
 contents in *Flanders*, as the King of *England*  
 did to *Maximilian* their Sovereign, that Treaty  
 was interrupted, and King *Henry* seem'd to  
 think

*Henry* assists  
*Maximi-  
 lian* in  
*Flan.*

think of a War with *France* in good earnest ; *A.D. 1490*  
 for he concluded an Alliance with *Maximilian* *A. 6 Hen. 7.*  
 for their mutual Defence, and enter'd into a Treaty also with the King of *Spain*, whereby  
 both Princes oblig'd themselves to make War  
 on *France*, until *Roussillon* was restor'd to *Spain*,  
 and *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *England*. A  
 Match was also agreed on between Prince  
*Arthur*, King *Henry's* eldest Son, and the In-  
 fanta, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*,  
 King and Queen of *Spain*, as soon as the  
 Prince should arrive at the Age of fourteen,  
 and the Princess to that of twelve.

A Confe-  
 deracy a-  
 gainst  
*France*.

A Mar-  
 riage pro-  
 pos'd be-  
 tween  
 Prince *Ar-  
 thur* and  
*Katherine*  
 of *Spain*.

An Embaf-  
 sy from the  
*French*  
 King.

*Charles* was a little alarm'd at the Confe-  
 deracy that he found was forming against  
 him ; and yet he saw no Preparations making  
 by *England* or any other Power that had en-  
 ter'd into it. In this Uncertainty he deter-  
 min'd to send an Embassy to King *Henry* to  
 discover his real Intentions. The Ambassa-  
 dors being arriv'd at *London*, and having paid  
 their Master's Compliments at their Audience,  
 Bishop *Fox* and some others of the King's  
 Council were order'd to treat with them.

At the first Conference, one of the Ambaf-  
 sadors (the Prior of the Trinity) made a long  
 elaborate Harangue, wherein he acquaints the  
*Engliff* Commissioners, that their Master,  
 the greatest Monarch that ever reign'd in  
*France* since *Charlemain*, thought it no Dis-  
 paragement to his Greatness to beg a Peace  
 of the King of *England*, for whom he had an  
 unlimited Esteem and Affection. Nor would  
 he conceal another Reason their King had to  
 desire a Peace at this time, which was his In-  
 tention of carrying his Arms into a distant  
 Country, which made it necessary that he  
 should leave his Kingdom in Peace with all  
 the

The Am-  
 bassador's  
 Speech.

*A.D.* 1490 the neighbouring Powers, especially with the King of *England*, the most potent Prince in *Europe*. He remember'd indeed, that in assisting their respective Allies in *Bretagne* and *Flanders*, their Swords had sometimes clash'd; but it did not follow that therefore they should become Principals in the War. Then he proceeded to shew his Master's Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and declar'd, that after he had possess'd himself of that Kingdom, he design'd to enter into a War with the *Turks*, whose Divisions gave him great hopes of Success; and as this Enterprize was intended for the Honour of Christendom, he was not asham'd to sue for Peace to all the Princes in *Europe*, even on that Account; concluding, that as his Master was superior Lord of *Bretagne*, he hop'd the King of *England* would not oppose his disposing of the young *Dutchess* of *Bretagne*, his Ward, in Marriage.

The Answer to it:

The Lords of the Council having reported the Substance of the *French* Ambassador's Speech to the King, the Lord Chancellor, after some Deliberation, was order'd to return an Answer to this Effect, namely, That their Master's Actions would best discover whether his Affection for the King of *England* was sincere. That the King could not but resent the *French* King's Conduct, in making him Instrumental in ruining his best Allies the *Bretons*; and as to the Marriage of the *Dutchess*, he should not interpose in it, provided *Charles* govern'd himself by the Laws of the Country, and not by those of the Sword. That notwithstanding what had lately pass'd in *Bretagne* and *Flanders*, he should not absolutely refuse to enter into a Treaty of Peace, provided



provided his Right to *Guienne* and *Normandy*, *A.D. 1490*  
 and his Title to *France*, might be discuss'd at  
 the same time. As to *Charles's* Expedition *A. 6 Hen. 7.*  
 to *Naples*, the King of *England* wish'd him  
 Success in it; and if he should afterwards  
 carry his Arms against the *Turks*, the King  
 would gladly bear a Part in that War.

The Ambassadors, surpriz'd at the demand  
 of the Restitution of the *English* Dominions  
 in *France*, answer'd, That they did not doubt  
 but the King their Master would be able to  
 defend his Title to the Crown of *France*;  
 nor would he ever consent to the dismembering  
 any of the Provinces of that Kingdom from  
 it. To which it was replied, The King ex-  
 pected no other Answer but he should imme-  
 diately send Ambassadors of his own to the  
*French* King to explain his Intentions. Then  
 it was demanded whether the *French* King  
 would agree to have the Disposal of the Dut-  
 chesse of *Bretagne* in Marriage, with an Excep-  
 tion, that he should not marry her himself.  
 To which the Ambassadors answer'd, That it  
 was so far from their Master's Thoughts, that  
 they had receiv'd no Instructions about it.  
 Whereupon all the Ambassadors were dis-  
 miss'd except the Prior, who still resid'd at  
 the Court of *England*; and in *February* fol-  
 lowing the King sent over the Earl of *Ormond*,  
 and the Prior of *Canterbury*, as his Ambassa-  
 dors to *France*.

In the mean time the Dutchesse of *Bretagne* *A.D. 1491*  
 communicated her Marriage with *Maximilian*  
 to King *Henry*, desiring speedy Succours a-  
 gainst the *French* King, who had actually be-  
 sieg'd her in the City of *Rennes*, and she had  
 Reason to apprehend would infallibly make  
 himself Master of all *Bretagne* in a little time,  
 if Protection.

*A. 7 Hen. 7.*  
 The Dut-  
 chesse of  
*Bretagne*  
 desires K.  
*Henry's*  
 if Protection.

*A.D.* 1491 if she was not reliev'd; but the King of England still neglecting to send any Forces to her Assistance, King *Charles* found means to bribe the Dutcheſs's Council, who took Advantage of the Distress she was in, and prevail'd on that Princess to renounce her Marriage with *Maximilian* and become the French King's Queen, by which means the Province of *Bretagne* became united to the Crown of France, a more particular Account of which Transaction will be found in the 12th Vol. of *Modern History*, p. 67. So soon as *Henry* heard of the Match between King *Charles* and the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*, he recall'd his Ambassadors, and order'd the Prior of the Trinity, who still remain'd in *England*, to return to *France*, declaring he would soon be reveng'd for the perfidious Conduct of his Master the French King. Then he renew'd his Alliances with *Spain*, and with *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, who was still more enrag'd than King *Henry*, being doubly injur'd by *Charles*'s marrying the Dutcheſs; for he had not only lost his Wife, but his Daughter *Margaret*, who had been long contracted to the French King, and had all the Reason in the World to believe herself Queen of *France*, was by that Match defeated of her Expectations and sent home again. And yet was the Pope pleas'd to grant a Dispensation for this adulterous Compact, and ratify it, dissolving the Marriage between *Maximilian* and the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*, as well as the other between King *Charles* and *Maximilian*'s Daughter, to make way for this. The French King had afterwards a Son and two Daughters by this Marriage, but they all dy'd in their Cradles, and the Crown went to a Collateral Branch

*A.D.* 1491  
*A. 7 Hen. 7.*  
 Which he  
 neglecting  
 she marries  
*Ch. VIII.*  
 King of  
*France.*

King *Henry*  
 threatens  
*France.*

*Maximilian*, King  
 of the  
*Romans*,  
 doubly in-  
 jur'd by  
 the Dut-  
 cheſs of  
*Bretagne*'s  
 Marriage.

The Pope  
 ratifies this  
 adulterous  
 Match.

Branch of the Royal Family ; but had they A.D. 1491  
 furviv'd, their Legitimacy might justly have  
 been disputed, notwithstanding the Pope's A.7 Hen.7.  
 Bull.

In the beginning of the following Year A.D. 1492  
*Henry* call'd a Parliament, which he open'd A.7 & 8 H.7  
 with a Speech, wherein he told them, That  
 being about to enter into a War with the King Hen-  
*French* King in Person for the Recovery of ry's Speech  
 his Inheritance, he chose to speak to them to the Par-  
 himself; and not by his Chancellor, as upon liament on  
 other Occasions : That *Charles* troubled the this Occa-  
*Christian World*, what he already possess'd sion.  
 was not his own, and yet he endeavour'd to  
 usurp still more. He had seiz'd *Bretagne*; abetted  
 the Rebels in *Flanders*, threatned *Italy*, and  
 deny'd to pay his Tribute to *England* ; and  
 in a Word; *he sought for War*. He let the  
 Parliament know therefore that he had deter-  
 min'd to revive his Claim to the Crown of  
*France*, and to that end had strengthen'd him-  
 self with powerful Alliances ; tho' he did not  
 doubt but *England* was able to bring *France*  
 to Reason without a Second ; for at the Bat-  
 tles of *Cressy*, *Poitiers*, and *Agencourt*; *Eng-*  
*land* was victorious without the Assistance of  
 the neighbouring Powers. That it was only  
 thro' the civil Dissentions of the *English* at  
 home that *France* had been lost ; and as they  
 were now in full Peace, he did not doubt to  
 recover it again. He desir'd therefore their  
 Advice and Aid in this important Affair, and  
 particularly, he desir'd that the Supplies they  
 gave might not be levy'd on the poorest Peo-  
 ple, but chiefly on those who were like to  
 reap the greatest Benefit from the War : Nor  
 did he doubt, after it was once begun, to make  
 it pay it self.



A.D. 1492

7 &amp; 8 Hen. 7

The King  
only  
threatens  
*France* to  
get Money  
of his Par-  
liament.

Notwithstanding the King talk'd in this lofty Strain to his Parliament, and even to all his Privy Council (except Archbishop *Moreton* and Bishop *Fox*, whom he let into the Secret) my Lord *Bacon* observes he never had any Intention to attempt the Recovery of *France*; that he did but traffick with the War, in order to increase his Cash; for he knew that *France* was united, and never more powerful than at that time; that the *Scots* were but precarious Friends; and that neither *Spain* or *Maximilian*, his Allies, were to be depended on; nor was he ignorant of the Numbers of Malecontents still left in the Kingdom, which must render a foreign War of any Duration extremely hazardous to him.

That his real Design therefore was by a Show of War to fill his Coffers, and then to put an End to it without blemishing his Honour. That noble Writer remarks further, that he propos'd to make a Profit both Ways; first by the Supplies his Subjects shou'd raise to carry on the War; and secondly by compelling his Enemies to purchase Peace: He pleas'd himself with the Prospect that the Backwardness of his Allies in furnishing their respective Quota's wou'd sufficiently justify his hearkening to Terms of Peace whenever he thought fit to put an End to the War.

A Supply  
granted, to  
be levy'd  
on People  
of Condi-  
tion only.

But whatever were the King's Views, the Parliament believing him in earnest to endeavour the Recovery of all or part of *France* at least, very readily agreed to grant a Supply to be levy'd on People of Substance, and not on the meaner sort of People, as the King had desir'd: And as the Nation were fond of the War with *France*, it was believ'd that his Majesty wou'd raise more

by

by way of Benevolence, or voluntary Contributions from private People, than by any Tax whatever. These Benevolences indeed had been declar'd great Grievances not many Years before, and an Act of Parliament pass'd in the preceding Reign against such Levies, and yet were they now reviv'd and enforc'd by Statute, and rais'd a Sum of Money answerable to the Expectations of the Court, by the Management of Archbishop *Moreton*, the King's prime Agent in this Affair: He order'd the Collectors, it seems, if they met with a thrifty, covetous Man, to represent that he must certainly have Money by him, because he spent none; and to those who liv'd profusely, they were to insist that they must needs have Money by the Figure they made in the Word; so that it was in vain to make Excuses under Pretence of Inability.

A.D. 1492

7 &amp; 8 Hen. 7

A Benevolence granted by Act of Parliament.

The *Flemmings* raising another Rebellion this Year against the Arch-Duke *Philip*, Son to *Maximilian*, King *Henry* sent a Fleet of Ships, with Land Forces on board, to the Assistance of the Arch-Duke, who recover'd *Sluice* from the Malecontents, tho' they were supported by the *French* King, and compell'd them to return to their Duty. In the mean time the Grand Armament against *France* went on in *England*, and *Henry* sent Ambassadors to *Spain* and the King of the *Romans*, to have their Forces in Readiness to invade *France* at the same time he should make a Descent in that Kingdom; and having concluded a Truce with *Scotland*, he came to *Sandwich*, where the Army was order'd to embark for *France* the second of *October*. Here he constituted his eldest Son *Arthur* Prince of *Wales* Guar-

The King sends the Arch-Duke a Reinforcement.

The King embarks his Troops

A.D. 1492 dian of the Kingdom ; for I shou'd have remember'd that he had another Son born in June this Year, who afterwards succeeded him in the Throne of *England* by the Name of *Henry VIII.* Some of the Generals representing to the King when he embark'd, that it was very late in the Year to begin a Campaign, 'tis said he answer'd, he shou'd make more than one Campaign of it ; he did not intend to return till he had conquer'd *France*, and therefore it was no matter what time of the Year he took the Field. Before the King went on board he was met by Ambassadors from King *Charles*, who made him large Offers to lay aside the Enterprize (as it was suppos'd) but as he expected to make better Terms on the other side the Water, he set Sail, and landed his Forces the same Day at *Calais*, which amounted to about two thousand Horse, and five and twenty thousand Foot. He march'd and invested the Town of *Bologne* on the 15th of *October*, notwithstanding he receiv'd Advice on his Arrival at *Calais*, that *Maximilian* was engag'd in another Enterprize, and cou'd give him no Assistance. He was inform'd also that *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, his other Ally, had made Peace with King *Charles*, upon Condition of his surrendring up the Province of *Roussillon* to *Spain*. Being thus deserted by his Confederates, he imagin'd he had a very good Pretence to clap up a Peace : Accordingly he order'd Bishop *Fox* and the Lord *D'Aubigny*, Governor of *Calais*, to treat with the Marshal *Desguernes* and other Ambassadors sent to him by the *French* King for that end, and within the space of eight Days the Treaty was brought to a Conclusion, containing seven Articles, the principal of which

The King  
lands at  
*Calais*.  
Lays siege  
to *Bologn*.  
He finds  
his Allies  
unprepar'd.



which were, that the *French* King shou'd pay the King of *England* the Money due to him for the Assistance he had given the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne* before her Marriage with *Charles*, which according to the *English* Ambassadors amounted to six hundred and twenty thousand *French* Crowns of Gold, or one hundred and twenty four thousand Pounds Sterling; that he shou'd also pay the Arrears of the Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns *per Annum* agreed to be paid by *Lewis XI.* to *Ed. IV.* and his Successors, Kings of *England*, which amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand Crowns, and in this Peace the King's Allies were to be included. But before King *Henry* wou'd ratify the Articles, he call'd a Council of his General Officers, to demand their Advice, whether it was proper to accept them; and the Articles having been debated in a Council of War it was agreed to confirm them for the following Reasons. 1. Because the Winter was far advanc'd, the Nights cold, and the Weather bad, and their Provisions that were to come by Sea very uncertain in that Season. 2. Because the Sums agreed to be paid by *France* were larger than any that had been paid to the King's Predecessors; and the Refusal of an advantageous Peace might occasion Discontents in *England*. 3. That the King of the *Romans* and his Son the Arch-Duke *Philip*, wou'd be great Gainers by this Peace, and it wou'd also be an Advantage to the *English* Merchants, since they might now carry on their Trade to the Low Countries without Hazard. 4. That the King being disappointed by all his Allies, and under a Necessity of carrying the War on alone, the Case was very much alter'd since he enter'd upon it, and he cou'd incur

*A.D.* 1492

78 &amp; 8H

Articles of  
Peace con-  
cluded be-  
tween  
*France* and  
*England*.

The Rea-  
sons given  
by the  
*English* for  
accepting  
them.

*A.D.* 1492 incur no Censure by putting an End to the War. 5. That his Honour cou'd never be call'd in Question, seeing he had offer'd the Enemy Battel (which they refus'd) and afterwards laid siege to *Bologn*. 6. That the People of *England* wou'd be thankful for this Peace, which wou'd put an End to their Taxes, and restore the publick Tranquility. And lastly, that the Town of *Bologn* appear'd much stronger than it was represented, and the King wou'd be in danger of destroying his Army before it, if he persisted in it at this Season, and perhaps be forc'd to rise from before it with Disgrace. This was sign'd by all the Members of the Council; and the King pretending to be govern'd by their Advice, ratify'd the Treaty on the third of *November*, as *Charles* (who was then at *Tours*) did the sixth of the same Month.

The *English* Ministry and Generals brib'd by the *French* to consent to this Peace.

Besides the Sums the *French* King had stipulated to pay King *Henry*, there was scarce a Minister or Officer of Distinction in the Court of *England* or the Army, but had a swinging Bribe in Hand, and an annual Pension assign'd him by King *Charles*, which (says the Lord *Bacon*) King *Henry* conniv'd at, either to save his own Purse, or that the great Men might share the Reproach of making an infamous Peace with him, which he knew the People of *England* must murmur at. However, both Kings had their Ends: *Charles* was by this Treaty establish'd in the Possession of *Bretagne*, and at Liberty to carry his Arms into *Italy*: *Henry* on the other Hand replenish'd his Treasury, and was at leisure to defend himself against his disaffected Subjects, that he was conscious were entering into a fresh Conspiracy against him. Those who had sold or mort-

gag'd

gag'd their Estates to attend *Henry* in the *A.D. 1492*  
*French Wars* indeed were very severe in  
 their Reflections upon him : Some said, *He* *7 & 1 Hen. 7*  
*did not care how much he fleec'd his Peo-*  
*ple, so he enrich'd himself.* And others  
 were merry on that Expression in his  
 Speech to the Parliament on the entring on  
 this War, viz. *That after the War was once*  
*begun he did not doubt but to make it pay it self;*  
 observing, that he had punctually kept  
 his Word in relation to himself. The King  
 having rais'd the Siege of *Bologn*, return'd to  
*Calais*, where he staid some time, and wrote  
 Letters from thence to the City of *London*,  
 boasting of the advantageous Terms he had  
 obtain'd for the Nation; and about the  
 Middle of *December* he came to *England*.  
 Thus this covetous King suffer'd that noble  
 Province of *Bretagne* to be swallow'd up by  
 the *French*, to the irreparable Damage of  
*England*, for this prov'd such an Addition  
 of Power to *France* as render'd that Kingdom  
 formidable to us, which it never was till  
 then. But it has been long observ'd, that  
 nothing can be more destructive to *Eng-*  
*land* than for the King and his Ministers to  
 entertain private selfish Views, opposite to  
 the true Interest of the Nation: They  
 may amuse the People with specious Pre-  
 tensions for a time, but their Conduct sel-  
 dom fails to be set in a true Light before  
 many Years have pass'd over their Heads.  
 I meet with little else remarkable in this  
 Year, unless it be the Attempt of *Christo-*  
*pher Columbus* the *Italian* to discover the *Columbus*  
 New World, in which he was employ'd by *discovers*  
*Ferdinand* King of *Spain*; an Account where- *America.*  
 of will be found in the second Vol. of *Mo-*  
*dern History*, p. 42.

But



A.D. 1493

A. 837 H. 7

A Counterfeit  
Duke of  
York, usually  
call'd  
Perkin,  
appears.  
An Account of  
him.

But notwithstanding what has been observ'd of King *Henry's* covetous Temper, one great Inducement to his clapping up a Peace with the *French* King, was, no doubt, the Conspiracy that he understood was forming against him at that time. The *Dutchess* of *Burgundy* had long given out that *Richard* Duke of *York* was living, and had concerted Measures with the *Yorkists* in *England*, that he, or the Youth that was to personate him, should make his Appearance in the World at the same time the King should be engag'd in the War with *France*. The Person the *Dutchess* pitch'd upon to act this part, if we may credit the Relation publish'd by the King, was one *Peter Osbeck*, usually call'd *Perkin Warbeck*, the Son of *John Osbeck*, a converted *Jew* of *Tournay*, who having resided some time in *London*, and being well known to King *Edward IV.* that Prince was pleas'd to stand Godfather to this Son, and to give him the Name of *Peter*, who prov'd a Lad of that admirable Beauty and excellent Parts; that it was suppos'd by many, *Edward IV.* was really his Father. *Osbeck* returning to *Flanders* some Years after, his Son chose to reside among the *English* Factors and Merchants that were settled there, and by that means spoke the *English* Language, and understood their Manners and Customs perfectly well. This Lad was recommended to the *Dutchess*, as extremely well qualified to personate the Duke of *York*, being of a suitable Age and sprightly Genius, and one who was said to resemble King *Edward*, whose Son he was to represent, and she took care to instruct him so well in all Passages it was necessary for him to know, relating to  
the

the Court of *England*, that it was not easy to distinguish him from the real Duke; even the Dutcheſs herſelf, 'tis ſaid, was ſurpriz'd to ſee how well he acted his Part.

A.D. 1493

A.8&amp;9H.7

How long the Dutcheſs was modelling this young Lad to her Mind is very uncertain; but he firſt appear'd in *Portugal*, about the time of the War in *Bretagne*, where having liv'd about a Year, ſhe order'd him to go into *Ireland* in the Year 1492, when ſhe look'd upon the War between *France* and *England* to be unavoidable. *Perkin* landing at *Cork*, and taking upon him the Title of Duke of *York*, was acknowledg'd as ſuch by the Mayor and Aldermen of that City. King *Henry*, who was then aſſembling his Army to make a Deſcent in *France*, imagin'd that this was a Stratagem only to induce him to lay aſide that Deſign; but when he underſtood that the *French* King had invited him to his Court, it gave him ſome Uneaſineſs. However, as he imagin'd the readieſt way to compel the *French* King to abandon that Pretender, was to carry the War into his Country, he continu'd his Preparations.

In the mean time *Perkin* was treated as Duke of *York* in the Court of *France*, having an Apartment in the Palace, and a Guard aſſign'd him, and a great many Malecontents thereupon reſorted to him from *England*. But a Peace being negotiated ſoon after between King *Henry* and King *Charles*, *Perkin* and his Adherents were oblig'd to quit the Court of *France* a little before the Conclusion of it, and retir'd to the Court of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* in *Flanders*.

*Perkin*  
oblig'd to  
quit the  
Court of  
*France* and  
retire to  
*Flanders*.

The Dutcheſs pretending ſhe had never ſeen *Perkin* before; and to be in Doubt whe-

*A.D.* 1493 ther he was the real Duke of *York*, examin'd  
*A.8&9H.7* him before a great Number of Lords and  
 Persons of Distinction; but he gave such  
 pertinent Answers to every thing that was  
 demanded of him, concerning the Court of  
*England*, and the manner of his Escape from  
 the Tower, that she declar'd herself convinc'd  
 he was her Nephew, the second Son of *Edward* IV. And the Report that this Prince was  
 alive gain'd credit even in *England*, where the  
*Yorkists*, and many of the *Lancastrians*, ha-  
 ving been disoblig'd by the King, became  
 Malecontents, and enter'd into a Conspiracy  
 to dethrone *Henry*, and set the Duke of *York*  
 upon the Throne, if upon Enquiry they  
 found he was not a Counterfeit. The prin-  
 cipal Conspirators, were, the Lord *Chamber-*  
*lain*, Sir *William Stanley*, the Lord *Fitz-Wal-*  
*ter*, Sir *Robert Clifford*, Sir *Simon Montfort*,  
*William Daubigny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas*  
*Cressenor*, *Thomas Ashwood*, Sir *Thomas*  
*Thwaites*, and *William Barley*. *Clifford* and  
*Barley* were sent over to *Flanders* by the rest,  
 to endeavour to discover if *Perkin* was not  
 an Impostor, and to concert Measures with  
 him and the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, if they  
 found he was what he pretended to be; and  
 upon *Clifford's* writing Word to his Friends  
 in *England* that he knew him to be the Duke  
 of *York*, the Conspirators prepar'd their  
 Friends to receive him. Of which the King  
 having some Intimation, took all possible  
 means to undeceive his Subjects; to which  
 purpose he apprehended *Tyrrel* and *Dighton*,  
 the only Persons living who were suppos'd to  
 have been concern'd in the Murder of the  
 late King *Edward* V. and his Brother the  
 Duke of *York*, and causing them to be ex-  
 amin'd

The Dut-  
 chess of  
*Burgundy*  
 acknow-  
 ledges he  
 is her Ne-  
 phew.

His Adhe-  
 rents in  
*England*.

The King  
 endeavours  
 to discover  
 the Cheat.



amin'd privately, he gave out that they both confes'd the Murder, and that the Bodies of the two Princes were buried under a Stair-Cafe adjoining to their Apartment, by a Priest; and that afterwards the Priest, by King Richard's Order, remov'd them to some other Place, which could not be known, because the Priest was dead. These Confessions gave but little Satisfaction, inasmuch as the Witnesses were suppos'd to be influenc'd by the Fear of Death or Torture; and the less, because their Examinations were taken in private, and the Bodies of the Princes could nowhere be found.

A.D. 1494  
9 & 10 H. 7

Another method the King took to discover the Imposture, was by sending Spies over to *Flanders*, pretending to be Malecontents, who insinuated themselves into the good Opinion of the Dutchess and the Conspirators, and thereby obtain'd a full Account of *Perkin's* Life and Conversation, which the King caus'd to be publish'd in *England*; and that his Agents might find the greater Credit with the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, they were declar'd Excommunicated, by Virtue of the Pope's Bull, every Sunday in *St. Paul's*.

Among these was Sir *Robert Clifford*, who had been more confided in by the Dutchess and the *English* Malecontents than any of the Conspirators, but was gain'd by the King's great Offers. This Gentleman acquainted *Henry* with every Step that was taken by the Conspirators; and, to his eternal Infamy, betray'd several of his most intimate Friends to the King, tho' he was then in *Flanders*, and consequently not influenc'd by his Fears. Among others who were apprehended on his Information, were, Lord *Fitz-*

*A.D.* 1494 *Walter, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressenor, Montfort Thwaites, Daubigny, and Ashwood,* who were all of them convicted of High-Treason; *Montfort, Ratcliff, and Daubigny* were immediately executed, and the Lord *Fitz-Walter* some time afterwards, on attempting to make his Escape. But the principal Sacrifice was the Lord Chamberlain, Sir *William Stanley*, who had been so instrumental in advancing the King to the Crown. It was expected that his former Services, and his being Brother to the Earl of *Derby*, the King's Father-in-Law, would have induc'd his Highness to have pardon'd him: But our Historians insinuate, he was too wealthy to escape the King's rapacious Hands, for in his Castle of *Holt* alone, was found to the Value of forty thousand Marks. The King also was inform'd, that the Lord *Stanley* had said, *That if Perkin was really King Edward's Son, he would never bear Arms against him.* Which was preferring the Title of the House of *York* to that of *Lancaster*, a Crime that *Henry* never forgave.

The Conspiracy being thus defeated, the King insisted that the Archduke should deliver up *Perkin*; but that Prince represented, that the Dutcheß of *Burgundy* was Sovereign of that Part of the Country where *Perkin* resided, and that it was not in his Power. However, the King would not be satisfied with that Answer, and to shew his Resentment, prohibited all Commerce with the *Low-Countries*. He also made strict Enquiry after *Perkin's* Adherents in *Ireland*, and having constituted his second Son Prince *Henry* Lord Lieutenant of that Country, sent over the celebrated Sir *Edward Poynings* thither

Trade  
with the  
*Low-Coun-*  
*tries* pro-  
hibited.

as

as his Deputy, who publishing the King's Pardon there, many of the Malecontents took Advantage of it, and others were reduc'd by Force of Arms. After which Sir *Edward Poynings* call'd a Parliament in that Kingdom, in which that famous Statute was made, which Enacts that the Laws of *England* should be in Force in *Ireland*, and afterwards obtain'd the Name of *Poyning's Law*.

A.D. 1494

9 & 10 H. 7

*Poynings's Law made in Ireland.*

And now the King being at Peace with most of the Powers of *Europe*, and having humbled the Malecontents at home, who were under the greatest Terror of being betray'd and call'd to an Account, as some of their Chiefs had been; he applied himself altogether to the scraping and heaping up Money, by the most unjust and detested means, tho' he had no manner of Occasion for it. He employ'd cunning knavish Lawyers to prosecute his Subjects upon Penal Statutes, and extorted extravagant Fines from them; particularly Sir *William Cape*, Alderman of *London*, being fin'd two thousand seven hundred Pounds, was glad to compound with the Crown for sixteen hundred. These Oppressions rendring the King's Administration hateful to all Men, *Perkin's* Adherents imagin'd if he appear'd, the Country in general would rise in their Favour, they ventur'd to make a Descent therefore on the Coast of *Kent*, with two or three hundred Men; but the Spirits of the *Yorkists* were so perfectly subdu'd, that no Body came in to their Assistance. The Militia of the Country fell upon *Perkin's* Troops that landed first, and having kill'd some of them, took an hundred and fifty Prisoners, who were hang'd up without any Formality; but

The King's Extortions

*Perkin* makes a Descent in *Kent*.

*Perkin*



A.D. 1495 *Perkin* himself was so wise to keep on board of his Ship, and return'd afterwards to *Flanders*.

10 & 11 H. 7

A Parli-  
ment held. The King having assembled a Parliament the following Year in *October*, that remarkable Statute was made which indemnifies the Subject for assisting a King *de facto*. Another Act was made, obliging those who had agreed to pay certain Sums, formerly by way of Benevolence, to bring in the Arrears of their respective Quota's. And another Act to enable poor Suitors to sue in *Forma Pauperis*. Of which a more particular Account will be given, as usual, at the end of the Reign of *Hen. VII.*

Subjects  
in lemni-  
fied for ad-  
hering to a  
King *de  
facto*.

Poor Suit-  
ors-

*Perkin*  
lands in  
*Ireland*.

Goes to  
*Scotland*.

While the Parliament was assembled, Advice came from *Ireland* that *Perkin* was landed there; but Sir *Edward Poynings* took such effectual Care to prevent any Insurrection in his favour, that he was soon oblig'd to reim-  
bark. After which he steer'd for *Scotland*, having been recommended to King *James IV.* as 'tis presum'd, by *Maximilian* the Emperor and the Archduke *Philip*, as well as by the King of *France*, the two former having been disgusted at *Henry's* prohibiting Commerce with the *Low Countries*; and the *French King* hop'd by this Means to employ King *Henry's* Arms, and prevent his entering into the League against him that was forming to defeat his Conquest of *Naples*, which that Prince had set his Heart upon.

His Recep-  
tion there.

*Perkin* being admitted to a solemn Audience by the King of *Scotland*, endeavour'd in a set Speech to convince that Prince that he was the real Duke of *York*, and consequently that *Henry* was an Usurper. He enumerated the several Attempts he had made to recover his Kingdom of *England*, in which, tho' he had

had not been successful, he hop'd at length to ascend that Throne by the Assistance of the King of *Scotland*, who might expect all the Returns from him that a grateful Prince could make when it should be accomplish'd.

King *James* did not at first seem perfectly satisfied that this was the real Duke of *York*, but told him whoever he was he should find no Cause to repent his coming into that Kingdom; and not long after gave him in Marriage the Lady *Catherine Gordon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Huntley*, his near Kinswoman, and one of the most celebrated Beauties in *Scotland*; from whence People generally concluded that the *Scots* were now convinc'd that *Perkin* was no Impostor.

The Trade between *England* and *Flanders* having been interrupted for some time on Account of the Assistance *Perkin* receiv'd from the Archdutchess, and the Archduke perceiving his Subjects to be very great Sufferers by it, sent an Embassy to King *Henry* to treat upon that Head; and not long after a Peace was concluded between these two Princes, wherein each of them engag'd not to assist or entertain the Rebels of the other, and the Archduke particularly stipulated, that neither he nor the Archdutchess would for the future harbour *Perkin* or his Adherents. About the same time King *Henry* observing the great Discoveries the *Spaniards* had made in *America*, by employing *Columbus* and other Adventurers, granted a Commission to *John*, (or as some call him) *Sebastian Cabot*, another *Italian* Pilot, to make Discoveries to the Northward. And now *Perkin* having remain'd in *Scotland* above a Year, King *James* assembled an Army and invaded *England*, giving out he intended to

A.D. 1495

10 & 11 Hy

*Perkin*  
marries the  
Lady *Gor-*  
*don*.

A.D. 1496

11 & 12 Hy

Treaty  
with the  
*Low Coun-*  
*tries*.

*Sebastian*  
*Cabot* sent  
upon Dis-  
coveries to  
the North-  
ward.

A.D. 1496 to set *Perkin* upon the Throne of that Kingdom. *Perkin* also issu'd a Proclamation; wherein he stil'd himself *Richard IV.* and treated *Henry* as a Tyrant and Usurper, and offer'd a Reward of a thousand Pounds to any one that should apprehend him.

11 & 12 H7

*Perkin* and the Scots invade England.

No body joins them.

The King of Scots and *Perkin* having march'd at the Head of this Army quite thro' *Northumberland*, were join'd by very few English, altho' that part of *England* was generally esteem'd ill-affected to the present Government; either they were deterr'd from stirring by the Severities King *Henry* had exercis'd, or they were convinc'd of the Imposture, and could propose little Advantage by such a Change of Masters. Whereupon *James*, in order to make himself some Amends for the Charges he had been at in this Expedition, plunder'd the Northern Counties and return'd to *Scotland*.

The Scots plunder the Borders and return.

A.D. 1497

12 & 13 H7

The King obtains a Supply.

This Invasion of the Scots gave King *Henry* a Pretence to demand Supplies of his Parliament, which he assembled in the beginning of the Year 1497, and they were so complaisant to give him a Subsidy amounting to the Sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, besides two Fifteenths; for a War, or a Rumour of a War, my Lord *Bacon* observes, was always a Mine of Treasure to him of an odd kind of Ore, Iron at the top, and Gold and Silver at the bottom; but tho' the Scots thought fit to remain quiet on the King's making some Preparations against them, an Insurrection happen'd a little after in *Cornwal* on the levy-ing the Tax the Parliament had given, the two principal Incendiaries being *Michael Joseph* a Farrier, and *Thomas Flammock* a Lawyer. The latter affirm'd, That the Feudal

An Insurrection in Cornwall.

Tenures



Tenures were abundantly sufficient to enable the King to repulse so inconsiderable an Enemy as the *Scots*. That it was illegal therefore to levy a Subsidy on them for that War, adding, that it was only a Stratagem of the Ministry to extort Money from the Subject. He exhorted them therefore to have recourse to Arms, not with any Intention of hurting the King's Person, he pretended, but to protect themselves against his evil Counsellors; and that they might be admitted to deliver a Petition to the King himself for a Redress of their Grievances, and the Punishment of those Counsellors who had advis'd the Subsidy, among whom Archbishop *Moreton* and *Reginald Bray* were esteem'd most obnoxious. Under these Leaders the Malecontents advanc'd as far as *Taunton-Dean*, where they kill'd one of the Collectors of the Tax, but did no other Mischief; from whence they march'd to *Wells*, where the Lord *Audley* took upon him the Command of them, and march'd at the Head of them to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*. After which the Lord *Audley* propos'd to march up directly to *London*, but was over-rul'd by his Followers, and prevail'd on to turn aside into *Kent*, where they apprehended they had abundance of Friends. The *Kentish* Men, however, seeing what a wretched Rabble they were compos'd of; and knowing that the King had already rais'd a good Body of Troops for the *Scotish* War, refus'd to stir. Whereupon the Malecontents march'd towards *London* again and encamp'd on *Blackheath*, within View of the Town, giving out that they would make themselves Masters of it suddenly, which put the Citizens in a terrible Con-

The Male-contents encamp on *Blackheath*

A.D. 1497 <sup>12&13 H7</sup> stertation ; but the King marching his Army over the River, and encamping between the Town and the Enemy, a little abated their Fears.

The King having divided his Army into three Parts on the 22d of *June*, order'd the Lord *D' Aubeny*, who commanded one of these Bodies, to attack the Rebels in Front, while the Earl of *Oxford* took a Circuit and fell upon their Rear. The King himself, who commanded the third Body, attended in *St. George's Fields* to cover the City, and keep all quiet there. The Rebels, who did not amount to above fifteen thousand Men, and those ill arm'd, finding themselves in a manner surrounded by the King's Troops, scarce stood the first Charge : They were soon put into Confusion, and most of them taken Prisoners, among whom were their Chiefs, viz. the Lord *Audley*, *Flammock*, and the *Farrier*, who were all put to Death ; but the rest were suffer'd to ransom themselves upon very easy Terms.

They are defeated, and their Leaders executed.

The Scots invade England again, and are repuls'd

King *James* of *Scotland* hearing of this Insurrection in *England*, and imagining *Henry* had his Hands full in the South, invested the Town of *Norham* on the *English* Borders ; but the Earl of *Surry*, who commanded the King's Forces in the North, oblig'd him to raise the Siege ; and afterwards marching into *Scotland*, took the Town of *Aton*, and perhaps would have push'd his Conquests further, had not King *Henry* chosen the way of Treaty rather than Arms to drive *Perkin* out of *Scotland*. By the *Spanish* Ambassador's Mediation a Truce was negotiated between the Kings of *England* and *Scotland* at *Aton* ; and as a Preliminary to it, K. *James* consented to send away *Perkin*

A Truce with *Scotland*, and *Perkin* oblig'd to quit the Kingdom.

*Perkin* out of his Territories, who thereupon took Shipping with his Wife and went to *Ireland*; after which the Truce was concluded between *England* and *Scotland* for seven Years, and either of the Parties oblig'd himself not to harbour or assist the Enemies of the other. The rest of the Differences between the two Kings were referr'd to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, whose Daughter, the Infanta *Catherine*, was a little before contracted to King *Henry's* eldest Son, *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*.

A.D. 1497  
12 & 13 H7

A.D. 1498  
13 & 14 H7  
Cha. VIII.  
King of  
France dies.

The following Year, on the sixth of *April*, died *Charles* King of *France*, who had a little before conquer'd and lost the Kingdom of *Naples* in one Campaign. He was succeeded by the Duke of *Orleans*, stil'd *Lewis* XII. who chose to live in Peace with *England*, that he might be at liberty also to carry his Arms into *Italy*, and prosecute his Claim to the Dutchy of *Milan*, as his Predecessor had done to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and he met with much the same Success. But notwithstanding King *Henry* was at Peace with all his Neighbours, he was not yet in perfect Tranquility at home; for the *Cornish* Men, not dishearten'd by their late Defeat, and imagining the rest of the Kingdom were no less discontented than themselves, invited *Perkin Warbeck* over from *Ireland*, promising to assist him in recovering the Crown he pretended to.

The *Cornish* Men  
invite over  
*Perkin* from  
*Ireland*.

*Perkin*, upon this Invitation, embark'd for *England* with about an hundred and twenty Men, and arriv'd at *Whitsand Bay* in *Cornwall* in the Month of *September* 1498, from whence he advanc'd to *Bodmin*, where, being join'd by about three or four thousand *English* Malcontents, he publish'd a Proclamation, where-

He lands  
in *Cornwall*.



A.D. 1498 in he stil'd himself *Richard IV.* declar'd *Henry* a Tyrant and Usurper, and promis'd great Rewards to those who should contribute to the dethroning him. Then he march'd and invested the City of *Exeter*, and would have brib'd the Citizens to deliver up the Town to him; but not finding them dispos'd to surrender, he endeavour'd to scale the Walls and take it by Storm, and actually set Fire to one of the Gates; but having no Artillery with him, was repuls'd, and lost several hundred of his Men in the Attempt. Soon after the Lord *D'Aubeny*, the Earl of *Devon*, the Duke of *Bucks*, and some other Noblemen, having assembled a considerable Body of Troops, march'd to the Relief of *Exeter*; whereupon *Perkin* rais'd his Siege and march'd to *Taunton-Dean*, where he gave out he would wait for his Enemies, and offer them Battel; but the very same Night he fled to the Monastery of *Bewly* in *Hampshire* with a few of his Friends, where they took Sanctuary, leaving the rest of their Followers to shift for themselves.

The Malecontents, who were at this time about six thousand Men, finding they were deserted by *Perkin*, threw themselves on the King's Mercy, and were most of them pardon'd; tho' some of the Chiefs were executed for an Example, and many more fin'd, to the Ruin of their Fortunes and Estates. *Perkin* having left his Wife at *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwal*, she was taken by a Detachment of the King's Army and brought to *Exeter*, where the King residing at that time, order'd her to be treated suitable to her Quality, and carrying her with him to *London*, settled a Pension on her for Life. She was call'd the *White Rose*, the Name the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*

13 & 14 H7  
He attacks  
*Exeter*,  
but is re-  
puls'd.

He takes  
Sanctuary  
and his  
Army is  
dispers'd.

*Perkin's*  
Wifetaken

*gundy* had given her Husband; and being a Lady of great Beauty and Merit, was much respected in the Court of *England*. She always express'd a tender Regard for her Husband, notwithstanding he was generally look'd upon as an Impostor.

A.D 1498

13&amp;14H7

As to *Perkin* himself, he was so narrowly watch'd that it was impossible for him to make his Escape out of Sanctuary; whereupon the King offering him his Life, he surrender'd and was brought up to *London*,

*Perkin* surrenders on Offers of Pardon.

where the King caus'd him to be carry'd thro' the Streets several Days, and all manner of People allow'd to converse with him, that they might be satisfy'd of the Imposture. He made him also publish his Confession, containing an Account of his Life and Actions, which was agreeable to the Relation that has been given of them already, and therefore need not be repeated here; tho' every Body did not give entire Credit to it, because it was suppos'd to have been extorted from him. It does not appear that *Perkin* was committed to Prison at this time: I presume he insisted not to be closely confin'd before he quitted the Sanctuary; but he was however always attended by a Guard to prevent his Escape.

He is expos'd, and oblig'd to make a publick Confession.

About the end of this Year the King's Favourite Palace of *Sheen* was burnt down to the Ground, with most of the rich Furniture; but it was soon after rebuilt by the King, who chang'd the old Name of it to that of *Richmond*, being his Title before he mounted the Throne.

*Sheen* or *Richmond* Palace burnt and rebuilt.

A.D. 1499

Some Skirmishes happening on the Borders of *Scotland* the following Year, it occasion'd a Treaty between the two Nations to adjust their Differences; which ended in a Marriage Contract

14&amp;15H7

Princess *Margaret* contracted to the King of the *Scots*.

*A.D.* 1499 Contract between King *James IV.* of *Scotland* and the Princess *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of King *Henry*; but before this was concluded, *Perkin Warbeck* found means to get out of the Hands of his Keepers, and took Sanctuary again in the Priory of *Shene*. The King, 'tis said, was once determin'd to take him out of the Sanctuary by Force, and put him to Death; but when he consider'd this would infallibly render the Pope and Church his Enemies, he alter'd his Mind. However, he prevail'd on the Prior at length to surrender him on Condition of sparing his Life; whereupon *Perkin* was set in the Stocks in the *Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*, and oblig'd to read over his Confession again to the People with an audible Voice; after which he was committed to the Tower. And here, 'tis said, he corrupted the Governor's Servants, and plotted with the Earl of *Warwick* to make his Escape from thence; which being discover'd by some of the Servants they had tamper'd with, *Perkin*, with several of his Accomplices, were convicted and executed. And the Earl of *Warwick* was not long after try'd by his Peers for High Treason, in conspiring the King's Death, for which he was condemn'd, and afterwards beheaded; tho' it does not appear there was any Evidence of such an Intention. The King, 'tis said, was determin'd to get rid both of *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick*, who gave him a great deal of Uneasiness; and he found no great Difficulty to get them convicted at a time when neither Lords nor Commons durst dispute his Pleasure. The Earl of *Warwick*, who was about 24 Years of Age, had been a Prisoner fifteen Years, and so closely confin'd that he did

14 & 15 H7

*Perkin*

takes

Sanctuary

again.

He is com-  
mitted to  
the Tower.

*Perkin* and  
the Earl of  
*Warwick*  
put to  
Death on a  
Pretence of  
their plotting  
to Escape. &c.



did not know a Hen from a Duck, 'tis related. The King's Life therefore could be in no great Danger from such a one. On the contrary, I find it is generally suspected that the Governor's Servants were employ'd by the Ministry to draw *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick* into an Attempt to make their Escape, that they might have a Pretence to take them off. But however that was, the King contracted a heavy Load of Infamy, by putting the Earl of *Warwick* to Death, whose greatest Crime was his being the only Male Heir living of the House of *York*. The Earl of *Warwick* was the eldest Son of the late Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward IV* and *Richard III*. The King endeavour'd to shift off the Guilt from himself indeed, and lay it upon *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, who wou'd not ratify the Marriage Contract between Prince *Arthur* and their Daughter *Katherine*, as was pretended, while the Earl of *Warwick* liv'd, lest he shou'd one Day defeat their Issue of the Crown of *England*. But this Excuse was so far from giving the People Satisfaction, that it confirm'd them in the Opinion that the Earl was put to death purely upon Reasons of State, and not for any treasonable Conspiracy he had been convicted of.

The next Year beginning another Century, Pope *Alexander VI*. according to Custom, proclaim'd a Jubilee, whereby he rais'd considerable Sums in every Kingdom of *Europe*, by granting the same Indulgences to those who remain'd at home as to those who visited *Rome*, on their paying his Collectors a certain Sum of Money. He propos'd also a Crusado with the like View ; but the Princes

A.D. 1499

14 &amp; 15 H. 7

A.D. 1500

15 &amp; 16 H. 7

The Pope  
raises Mo-  
ney by the  
Jubilee.

A.D. 1500 Princes of *Europe* began to be weary of those romantick Attempts to recover the Holy-Land, and thereupon excus'd themselves to the Pope; so that this Project came to nothing.

The Plague sweeping away great Numbers of People about this time, the King and Court were frequently oblig'd to remove from Place to Place, and at length went over to *Calais*; near which Town the King had an Interview with the Arch-Duke *Philip*; with whom he renew'd the former Treaties of Peace and Commerce. The Plague was no sooner abated in *England* but the King

The King return'd thither, where he plagued and persecuted his Subjects under a Pretence of Disaffection, to that Degree that the Sickness itself was not more dreaded than his Extortions. He issu'd a Commission to apprehend and try all such as had shewn themselves Favourers of the Malecontents, either in the last Insurrection under *Perkin*, or in that before, not with a Design to take away their Lives, but to extort from them all the Money they were able to raise, to purchase his Pardon. About the same time the King obtain'd the Pope's Dispensation for the Marriage of his Daughter *Margaret* with King *James IV.* of *Scotland*; but the Princess was not sent to *Scotland* till three Years afterwards, she not being above ten Years of Age.

Archbishop *Moreton*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who was generally curs'd for his Severity to the *Yorkists*, and advising the King to harraß and impoverish his Subjects, died the latter End of this Year, and was succeeded by Dr. *Henry Dean*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; but the King becoming still more covetous and rapacious after *Moreton's* Death, People then

then ascrib'd these Oppressions to the King's natural Temper, and even wish'd for the Bishop again, 'tis said, in a little time. And as the King cou'd not be ignorant that his Ex-tortions must render him odious to the People, he was always in dread of Insurrections and Conspiracies against him, of which there was a notable Instance this Year; for the Earl of *Suffolk*, Son of the Princess *Elizabeth* the late King's Sister, and of — *De la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, resorting to the Court of the Dutchess of *Burgundy* upon some Disgust, gave him the utmost Uneasiness; he cou'd not rest till he found means to persuade him to return to *England* again. However, to divert his Cares, the Princess *Katherine*, Infanta of *Spain*, arriving in *England* in *October*, he solemniz'd the Marriage between her and Prince *Arthur* with great Splendor on the fourteenth Day of *November*, and all the World imagin'd it had been consummated the same Night; but notwithstanding the Prince liv'd with the Infanta as his Wife several Months; we find the Consummation disputed twenty Years afterwards.

The Earl of *Suffolk* retires in Disgust to *Flanders*. The King prevails on him to re-  
return.

Prince *Arthur* and the Infanta married.

The Contract of Marriage also between the Princess *Margaret* and *James IV.* King of *Scots* was concluded on the 24th of *January* 1502: by which the King engag'd to give thirty thousand Pounds Sterling with that Princess, and *James* stipulated to settle a Jointure of two thousand Pounds *per Annum* upon her; and tho' it was agreed that the Marriage shou'd be solemniz'd by Proxy in Words of present time at *Candlemas* following, she was not to be sent to her Husband till *September*, 1503. At the same time a Treaty of Peace was concluded between the two Na-  
tions.

A.D. 1502  
17 & 18 H. 7  
The Marriage between the King of *Scots* and the Princess *Margaret* concluded.



A.D. 1502 tions. The Court having spent the Winter  
 17&18H.7 in Jufts, Festivals, and Shews on account of  
 Prince Ar- these two Marriages, their Mirth was on  
 thur dies. a sudden converted into Mourning by the  
 Death of Prince *Arthur*, one of the Bride-  
 grooms, the King's eldest Son, who died on  
 the second of *April*, 1502, in the 17th Year  
 of his Age, being about five Months after  
 his Marriage with the Infanta, and in *June*  
 following Prince *Henry* was created Prince of  
 Wales, according to *Rapin*, tho' the Lord  
*Bacon* relates he was not created till *February*  
 1503, which is much more probable, because  
 it cou'd not be known suddenly whether the  
 Princess was with Child or not. As to what  
 he says of *Henry's* being stil'd Prince of *Wales*  
 in an Instrument in *Rymer's Fœdera*, dated  
 in *June*, 1502, it is possible he might gene-  
 rally be call'd Prince of *Wales* before he re-  
 ceiv'd his Patent, and he is only stil'd so in  
 that Instrument by way of *Recital*. This Year  
*Maximilian* the Emperor sent Ambassadors  
 to *England* to propose the entering into an Al-  
 liance against the Turk; but King *Henry*  
 chose rather to present that Prince with the  
 Sum of ten thousand Pounds towards his Ex-  
 pedition against the Infidels than to become  
 a Party in that War. He advanc'd a further  
 Sum to *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, who sent  
 to solicit his Aid against the same People.  
 About the same time *Sebastian Cabot* return'd  
 from his Discoveries to the Northwest, and  
 brought over some of the Natives of *North*  
*America*, who had no other Cloathing than  
 the Skins of Beasts; and by a Patent bearing  
 Date the 9th of *December*, another Commis-  
 sion was granted to *James Elliot* and *Ashburst*,  
 Merchants of *Bristol*, and to *John Gonzalez*  
 and

Prince Hen-  
 ry created  
 Prince of  
 Wales.

The King  
 presents the  
 Emperor  
 with a Sum  
 of Money  
 to be em-  
 ploy'd in  
 the Turkish  
 War.

Sebastian  
 Cabot re-  
 turns from  
 his Disco-  
 veries.  
 Further  
 Discoveries  
 attempted.

and *Francis Fernandez*, *Portuguese* Adventurers, to make further Discoveries for the Benefit of the Crown of *England*. A.D. 1503  
18 & 19 H. 7

The Queen was deliver'd of a Princess the following Year, baptiz'd by the Name of *Katherine*; but she died in Child-bed on the 11th of *February*, and the Child a few Days after. She had brought the King a great many Children, and was in every respect an agreeable Lady; but he treated her barbarously notwithstanding, imprisoning her Mother, and perpetually persecuting the rest of her Relations, with the whole Party of the *Yorkists*, of which she was the Head. And indeed from such a churlish Prince, whose Views ever seem'd to center in himself, and who had no manner of Tenderness for the rest of Mankind, another Conduct cou'd not be expected. As he encreased in Years his Covetousness still grew upon him. In the latter End of his Reign he kept no Measures, but made it his Business to plunder the Nation in general, whether Friends or Foes, by the most detested means. The Queen dies in Childbed.  
  
The King's Extortions increase.

The principal Instruments he made use of *Empson* and *Dudley* to rob his Subjects, were *Richard Empson* and *Edward Dudley*, of whom the Lord *Bacon* gives the following Character, ' They were, (says that noble Writer,) bold Men and careless of Fame. *Dudley* was of a good Family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful Business into good Language. But *Empson* was the Son of a Sieve-maker, who always triumph'd in his Roguery. They were Lawyers by Profession; and Members of the Privy-Council; but they converted Law and Justice into Worm-wood and Rapine. They us'd to indict People of various Crimes, and when Bills his Instruments.  
Their Character by Lord Bacon.

A.D. 1503

8 &amp; 19 H. 7



‘ were found against them by the Grand Jury, they committed them to Prison, where they let them lie and languish, without bringing them to Trial, and by Threats, and other Devices, compell’d them to compound for great Fines, tho’ never so innocent. After some time they left off proceeding by Indictment, and acted openly, without any Colour or Form of Law, attaching Persons by their own Precepts, and trying them without Juries, in a Summary way; they took upon them to determine Civil, as well as Criminal Causes, in that manner.

‘ They charg’d the Subjects Lands with Tenures *in Capite*, by finding false Offices, and thereby made them liable to Wardships, Liveries, Premier Seizins, and Alienations, (the Fruits of such Tenures) not admitting People to traverse such Offices. And the King’s Wards were forc’d to pay excessive Fines when they arriv’d at full Age, before they could have Livery of their Lands. And when they did make use of Jurors, they would Fine and Imprison them, till they gave such Verdicts as they dictated to them.

‘ They would not suffer those who were outlaw’d in personal Actions, to purchase Charters of Pardon, but insisted on the absolute forfeiture of their Goods, and that the King ought to have the Profits of their Lands for the Space of two Years: Enriching themselves, as well as their Master, by their various Extortions. But they rais’d most Money on the Penal Laws, wherein they spar’d none, Great or Small, or ever consider’d whether the Law were

‘ possible



possible or impossible, in use or obsolete; *A.D. 1503*  
 being ever attended by a Rabble of Pro-  
 moters, Informers, and leading Jurors, *18&19H.7*  
 who would find either Fact or Valuation,  
 as they were taught.

But there is a Story related by the same noble Writer, which if true, reflects no less on the King himself, than on his Instruments, he gives us it however, only as a *Common Report* in his time. 'The Earl of Oxford, one of the most considerable Ministers of State in time of Peace, and the General on whom the King principally relied in War, having invited his Highness to the Castle of *Henningham*, and given him a magnificent Entertainment, the King observ'd at his going away a very numerous Retinue in the Earl's Livery; whereupon he said, *My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater than the Speech. These handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial Servants.* The Earl smil'd and said, *It may please your Grace, that were not for mine Ease: They are most of them my Retainers, and are come to do me Service at such a time as this; and chiefly to see your Grace.* The King started a little and said, *By my Faith, my Lord, I thank you for my good Chear, but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my Sight; my Attorney must speak with you.* And it is part of the Relation, that the Earl compounded for fifteen thousand Marks,' The Lord Bacon relates further, 'That he had seen a Book of Accounts of *Empson's*, every Leaf almost of which was sign'd with the King's Hand, and postill'd by him in the Margin, in which

The Earl of Oxford find.

*A.D.* 1503 ‘ which was the following Memorandum.  
 18 & 19 H. 7 ‘ *Item, Received of ——— five Marks for*  
 ‘ *the Pardon to be procur’d, and if the Pardon*  
 ‘ *to not pass, the Money to be repaid, except the*  
 ‘ *Party be some otherwise satisfied. ——— And*  
 ‘ over against this Memorandum, was writ-  
 ‘ ten in the Margin, with the King’s own  
 ‘ Hand, *Otherwise satisfied.*’ To such mean  
 things did this miserable Monarch descend.

A Conspi-  
 racy by the  
 Earl of  
*Suffolk, &c.*  
 against the  
 King.

These Extortions occasioning a general  
 Discontent — *De la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*,  
 who was look’d upon as the nearest Heir  
 Male to the Crown, of the House of *York*,  
 enter’d into a Conspiracy with his Friends in  
*England*, against the Government; after  
 which he went over to *Flanders*, to the Dut-  
 ches of *Burgundy*, in hopes of procuring Fo-  
 reign Assistance. My Lord *Bacon* suggests,  
 that the Earl had dipp’d his Estate and im-  
 poverish’d himself, by making too splendid  
 an Appearance at the late Weddings of the  
 Princes of the Blood, which put him upon  
 this desperate Undertaking; but whatever  
 were his Inducements, his Conduct gave the  
 King a great deal of Uneasiness. Where-  
 upon his Highness had recourse to his usual  
 Stratagems, and order’d Sir *Robert Curson*,  
 Governor of *Hamme-Castle* near *Calais*, to  
 feign himself a Malecontent, and desert over  
 to the Earl, whereby the King discover’d all  
 his Enemies Designs; and upon the Advices  
 he receiv’d from *Curson*, apprehended several  
 of the Conspirators, as the Earl of *Devon*,  
 who had married the Princess *Katherine*  
 Daughter of *Edward IV.* and the late Queen’s  
 Sister; *William de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl  
 of *Suffolk*; the Lord *Abergavennie*; Sir *Thomas*  
*Green*; Sir *James Tyrrel*; Sir *John Windham*, and  
 several

The King  
 discovers  
 and defeats  
 it.

several others. The Earl of *Devon* was committed to the Tower, and remain'd a Prisoner there till the end of this Reign, without being brought to Trial; *William de la Pole* also remain'd in Prison a great while; but Sir *James Tyrrel*, suppos'd to be the Murderer of King *Edward V.* and his Brother, with Sir *John Windham*, and some other inferior People, were executed as Traytors: And the Lord *Abergavennie*, and Sir *Thomas Green*, were soon after set at Liberty. Which partial Proceeding occasion'd People to conjecture, that *Curson*, when he made his Discovery, had stipulated with the King, for the Lives of most of the great Men he betray'd. And that *Curson* might not be suspected of discovering the Plot, the King caus'd him to be declar'd Excommunicated by Name, together with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the rest of the Malecontents, every Sunday in *St. Paul's*. Whereupon the Lord *Bacon* observes, *That Heaven was made too much to bow to Earth, and Religion to Policy.* Which is not much to be wonder'd at, in a Prince that made his Mammon his God. *Curson* having done the King what Service he could abroad, return'd to *England*, and was graciously receiv'd at Court, but detested by the rest of Mankind, who abhorr'd his treacherous Practices. And the Earl finding all his Schemes disconcerted in *Flanders*, travell'd into *France* and *Germany*, in hopes of obtaining the Assistance of some other Power to attack King *Henry*; but being every where disappointed, he return'd to the *Low-Countries* again, and put himself under the Protection of the Archduke *Philip*.

A.D. 1503.

18 & 19 H. 7.

*Tyrrel* and other Conspirators executed.



A.D. 1504

19 &amp; 20 H. 7

*Dudley* cho-  
sen Speaker  
of the Com-  
mons.

The King  
raises Mo-  
ney by va-  
rious Arts.

The Par-  
liament  
counse-  
lances  
them.

The Im-  
portation  
of Foreign  
Manufac-  
tures pro-  
hibited.

A Parliament being assembled on the 25th of *January* the following Year, the Members of the Commons appear'd so devoted to the Court; that they chose the infamous *Dudley*, the principal Instrument of the King's Ex-tortions, their Speaker; and tho' the King was engag'd in no War, or had a Prospect of any, he thought fit to demand a Supply, and obtain'd a Subsidy; notwithstanding which, he issu'd a Commission for a general Benevolence the same Year. He made the City of *London* advance him five thousand Pounds also, for a Confirmation of their Li-berties, and gain'd considerable Sums by calling in the Money and recoinng it. While *Empson* and *Dudley* were so improv'd in their villainous Practices, that they brought him in more Money than ever. Such Golden Showers, says the Lord *Bacon*, pour'd down upon the King's Treasury all at once; but how miserable were the People at the same time, perpetually pilfer'd and prosecuted by an Army of Tax-gatherers and Informers; no Man enjoy'd his Fortune in quiet, it was well if he could redeem his Person from Prison, by sacrificing his Estate. Thus the King in a manner ingross'd all the Riches of the Kingdom; his Subjects, like Slaves in the Mines, had no other Prospect than the filling their Master's Coffers, and as the Parliament were either aw'd or brib'd into a Compliance with the Court, they could see no end of their Miseries.

In this Parliament there pass'd an Act which prohibited the importing such Manu-factures of Silk as were wrought in *England*, which, as the Lord *Bacon* observes, was found-ed on a true Principle, *That where foreign Materials*

*Materials are but Superfluities, foreign Manufactures shou'd be prohibited, for thereby we shall either banish the Superfluity or gain the Manufacture.* The rest of the Statutes made in this Parliament will be found at the End of the Reign.

A.D. 1504  
19 & 20 H7  
~~~~~

*Ferdinand King of Arragon* having the Misfortune to lose his Wife, the celebrated *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, on the 26th of November this Year, sent Advice of it to King *Henry*, acquainting him at the same time that she had appointed him (*Ferdinand*) Administrator of the Kingdom of *Castile* during his Life; but the Arch-Duke *Philip*, who had married *Johanna*, the eldest Daughter and Heiress of *Isabella*, not long after caus'd himself and his Wife to be proclaimed King and Queen of *Castile* at *Brussels*, and declar'd they intended to take upon them the Government of that Kingdom, which it was apprehended wou'd occasion a War between the Arch-Duke and *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law.

*Isabella*  
Queen of  
*Castile* dies:  
  
King *Ferdinand* her  
Husband  
and the  
Arch Duke  
his Son-in-  
law both  
claim the  
Govern-  
ment.

A.D. 1505  
20 & 21 H.7  
~~~~~

This Dispute 'tis said gave King *Henry* some Uneasiness, looking upon the Case to be very much his own, as the *Yorkists* never acknowledg'd King *Henry* to have any other Right to the Crown than what he acquir'd by his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth* the Heiress of that House, he began to be in pain lest they shou'd take it in their heads, now she was dead, to advance his Son *Henry*, who was her Heir, to the Throne of *England* in his Lifetime, it not being the receiv'd Opinion in those Days, that an Act of Parliament made by a King *de facto* who had usurp'd the Crown cou'd deprive the right Heir of his Inheritance. And what gave *Henry* some further Uneasiness was, lest this Quarrel between *Ferdinand* and

King *Henry*  
resembles  
this to his  
own Case:

*A.D.* 1505 his Son-in-law the Arch-Duke shou'd draw him into a foreign War, which of all things he had reason to dread, since his Oppressions had made his own Subjects ripe for an Insurrection: If the *French* King and the Arch-Duke shou'd join their Forces against *Ferdinand*, he cou'd not abandon his old Allie; and on the other hand a Rupture with *France* and the *Low Countries* might prove fatal, if the Malecontents in *England* shou'd receive a Reinforcement of Troops from thence. He sent his Agents therefore into *Spain*, to discover what was like to be the Event of this Contest between *Ferdinand* and the Arch-Duke; but before he cou'd receive any Satisfaction in that Matter, he heard that the Arch-Duke and his Wife, who now stiled themselves King and Queen of *Castile*, were embark'd, and sailing with a strong Convoy thither, in order to take upon them the Government of that Kingdom; and a very few Days afterwards he understood that their Fleet had been dispers'd by a Storm, and the Ship the King and Queen were in driven into the Port of *Weymouth* on the Coast of *England*, where they both came on Shore. Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, who liv'd near *Weymouth*, on the Appearance of this Fleet, it seems, had assembled the Militia of the Country, not knowing whether they were Friends or Foes; but as soon as he understood the King and Queen were at *Weymouth*, he went and invited them to his House, where he desir'd they wou'd be pleas'd to stay till he had acquainted King *Henry* with their Arrival. They wou'd gladly have gone on board again and pursu'd their Voyage; but finding the Knight was determin'd not to part with them till he had heard from Court, they made a

Virtue

*A.D.* 1505  
20 & 21 H.7

*A.D.* 1506

21 & 22 H.7

The King  
and Queen  
of *Castile*  
driven on  
shore in  
*England*.



Virtue of Necessity, and accepted his Invitation; and two or three Days afterwards the Earl of *Arundel*, attended by three hundred Horse, came with a Compliment to them from the King, and let them know that he intended to pay his Respects to them in Person before they embark'd again; whereupon *Philip* finding he shou'd not be dismiss'd without an Interview, chose to attend the King at *Windsor*, where he and his Queen were entertain'd with the greatest Magnificence, and highly carefs'd; but notwithstanding *Henry's* Professions of Respect and Friendship for their *Castilian* Majesties, he determin'd not to let them go till he had made the most of them; and in the first Place King *Henry* insisted they shou'd alter the late Treaty of Commerce made between *England* and the *Low Countries*, in Favour of the *English*, particularly, That the Liberty the *Dutch* had of fishing on the Coast of *England* shou'd be abolish'd. 2. King *Henry* demanded *Philip's* Consent to his marrying his Sister *Margaret* the Widow of the Duke of *Savoy*, then esteem'd the greatest Fortune in *Europe*, which *Philip* did not think fit to refuse in the Circumstances he was in, and *Philip* agreed also to add three hundred thousand Crowns of Gold to her Portion, for the Performance whereof several *Flemish* Lords took their Oaths, tho' it came to nothing at last. There was a third thing *Henry* propos'd more difficult to be comply'd with than either of the former, which was, that he shou'd deliver up the Earl of *Suffolk*, who resided in *Flanders*. But *Philip*, notwithstanding he was in *Henry's* Power, absolutely refus'd this Demand, determining to abide the worst that cou'd happen to him rather than blemish his

A.D. 1506

21 &amp; 22 H7

They are entertain'd by the King at *Windsor*.

The *Dutch* excluded the Liberty of fishing on the Coast of *England*.

*Henry* insists on the delivering up the Duke of *Suffolk*.

A.D. 1506 Honour by sacrificing a Nobleman that fled  
 21&22H7 to him for Protection; and after some warm  
 Debates on this Head, the following Expedient was agreed on, viz. That *Henry* should pardon the Earl as to his Life, and that then he shou'd return to *England*, the latter of which *Henry* took care to see perform'd before he parted with *Philip* and his Queen, for he carried them to *London*, where he entertain'd them with Jufts, Tournaments, and Festivals, under Pretence of doing them Honour, till the Earl of *Suffolk* return'd and was committed to the Tower: And as *Henry* during *Philip's* stay here admitted him into the Order of the Garter, so *Philip* conferr'd that of the Golden Fleece upon the Prince of *Wales*: Thus after the Royal Strangers had continu'd nine or ten Weeks in the Court of *England* they pursu'd their Voyage to *Castile*, and took upon them the Government of that Kingdom, which *Ferdinand* chose to resign to them, and retire to *Arragon*, finding the *Castilians* averse to his Administration; but *Philip* falling sick and dying the September following, and his Queen *Joanna* being disorder'd in her Senses, *Ferdinand* return'd some time after, and re-assum'd the Government of *Castile* again, in which he continu'd till he died; his Grandson the celebrated *Charles V.* succeeding him, Anno 1515, in *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and all the Dominions belonging to the Crown of *Spain*, which were thereby united in his Person, and this Prince being afterwards elected Emperor, became much the most powerful Monarch in *Europe*: In the mean time *Charles* succeeding his Father *Philip* also as Arch-Duke of *Austria* and Duke of *Burgundy* in the Year

*Philip* and his Queen take upon them the Government of *Castile*.

*Hedies* and *Ferdinand* resumes the Administration.

1506, and being then very young, the *Flemings* desir'd his Grandfather *Maximilian* the Emperor to take the Government of the *Low Countries* upon him as Guardian to his Grandson; whereupon *Maximilian* sent thither his Daughter *Margaret* Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy* as his Deputy, who renew'd the Treaty of Commerce between *England* and the *Low Countries* the following Year.

A.D. 1507

22 &amp; 23 H7.

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While the Ministers of these Powers were engag'd in this Treaty at *Calais*, a Marriage was propos'd between the Arch-Duke *Charles* and the Princess *Mary*, King *Henry's* youngest Daughter, and a Contract was sign'd on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *December*, 1507, it being stipulated that *Charles* shou'd marry her as soon as he shou'd arrive at fourteen Years of Age, and the King shou'd give her a Portion of two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds; but neither did this Marriage take effect any more than the other that had been negotiated between *Henry* himself and *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*.

A Marriage propos'd between the Arch Duke *Charles* and the Princess *Mary*.

Still the King went on with his Extortions without controul. The Lord-Mayor of *London* was this Year prosecuted by *Empson* and *Dudley*, and sent to the Tower because he did not pay an exorbitant Fine set upon him for his neglecting to bring a Coiner to Justice. The Sheriffs, Aldermen, and the rest of the Magistrates of *London* being involv'd in the same Prosecution, and oblig'd to pay such Fines as were set upon them. By this and other oppressive Ways this King heap'd up the Sum of one Million eight hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, which he kept in Vaults under the Palace of *Richmond*, always keeping the Keys himself, and scarce ever suffering any

The King by his Extortions heaps up 1800000l.



*A.D.* 1507 any Person to enter them, but in his Presence. And notwithstanding he was seiz'd with the Gout in his Stomach, and cou'd not be insensible of the Approach of Death, yet still were *Empson* and *Dudley* suffer'd, and even encourag'd in plundering and robbing his Subjects.

*A.D.* 1508 The Year 1508 was taken up as the former, in inventing or executing Schemes for raising Money, or in further Treaties concerning the Marriage of the Arch-Duke of *Austria* (Heir of *Castile* and *Arragon*) and the Princess *Mary*, which was solemniz'd by Proxy on the 17th of *December*, the Lord *Bérghes* representing the Arch-Duke ; and yet King *Henry* with all his abundant Caution cou'd not secure the Consummation of that Match. He was extremely proud of the Alliance, as appears by a Letter he sent to the Citizens of *London*, wherein he tells them, *He had built a Wall of Brass about his Kingdom*, having now the King of *Scotland* and the Heir apparent of *Castile* for his Sons-in-law. And about the time of this Ceremony it appears he lent the latter the Sum of fifty thousand Crowns on certain Jewels, which form'd a Flower de Lis weighing with the Gold in which they were set two hundred and eleven Ounces and half. See *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. 13 p. 241.

*A.D.* 1509 The King's Health declining apace, as a Preparative to his approaching Dissolution, he granted a General Pardon to his Subjects, and releas'd all Debtors out of Prison, who did not owe more than forty Shillings to any one Man, discharging their Creditors out of his own Purse ; and by his Will, order'd his Successor to make Restitution to all Men whom he had wrong'd by his Extortions, tho'

tho' he had not the Heart to discontinue them a Moment in his Life-time ; and it appears that his Son had no great regard to his Commands in this particular ; I find very little restor'd after the King's Death, which happen'd at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the 22d of *April*, 1509, in the 53d Year of his Age, and the 24th of his Reign. He was buried in that magnificent Chapel of his own erecting, adjoining to the Abby-Church of *Westminster*.

A.D. 1509

A. 24 H. 7

He dies.

This Prince was tall and slender, but very strong and active ; his Eyes were grey ; his Face long and meagre ; and his Looks grave or rather severe, tho' he knew how to put on an Air of Sweetness and Condescension, when he had an Interest to manage that requir'd it.

The Person and Character of Hen. VII. by Lord Bacon.

The Lord *Bacon*, in giving a Character of *Henry VII.* observes, ' He was a religious Prince, from the regard he had to the Privileges of the Church, as well as from the many Religious Foundations he erected. That he was clear sighted, and saw far, considering the Darknes of the Times he liv'd in ; he lov'd Peace, tho' he was always prepar'd for War ; he went himself against all Insurrections, and was ever Victorious ; but the Civil Government was very illegally administred ; the Council-Table deciding Causes that ought to have been determin'd by the Courts of Law, tho' the King's Decisions were always just, where he was not a Party. That considering the many Insurrections in his Reign, he may be accounted a merciful Prince, having executed but three Noblemen in cold Blood, (*viz.*) the Lord Chamberlain, *Warwick*,

‘ *Warwick, and Audley.* But the less Blood  
 ‘ he drew (he observes) he took the more of  
 ‘ their Treasure: (He says,) he kept all  
 ‘ Men at a great Distance, not admitting  
 ‘ any near or full Approach, either to his  
 ‘ Power or his Secrets; for he was govern’d  
 ‘ by none; he had neither he or the Favou-  
 ‘ rite: That he kept State and Majesty to  
 ‘ the Height; as being necessary to induce  
 ‘ Submission, but was not Vain-glorious.

‘ That he us’d all means to procure good  
 ‘ Intelligence, and was Master of the Secrets  
 ‘ of all Courts and Factions, while he himself  
 ‘ remain’d in the Dark to them: And he did  
 ‘ not spare, even to prostitute Religion itself  
 ‘ to compass his Designs, and discover the  
 ‘ Intrigues of his Enemies.

‘ That he car’d not how subtle his Mini-  
 ‘ sters were, having the Master-reach him-  
 ‘ self. But what is much to be admir’d, (he  
 ‘ says,) he was serv’d so faithfully, that he  
 ‘ did not displace one Minister, except the  
 ‘ Lord Chamberlain, in all his Reign. (He  
 ‘ says,) that he was of a suspicious inquisitive  
 ‘ Temper, and more fear’d than lov’d by  
 ‘ his Subjects; but yet of a very insinuating  
 ‘ Behaviour, to bring about any Design he  
 ‘ had fix’d upon. That he was not given  
 ‘ to Pleasures, but made them subservient  
 ‘ to his Interests; and that he had no great  
 ‘ share of Learning, tho’ he understood Men  
 ‘ and Things admirably well.

‘ He kept a severe Hand over his Nobility,  
 ‘ and chose rather to advance Clergymen  
 ‘ and Lawyers, which were more obsequious  
 ‘ to him than the Nobility; he was not  
 ‘ afraid of able Men, as *Lewis XIth* of  
 ‘ *France* was, but was serv’d by the ablest  
 ‘ Men



‘ Men that were to be found, without which  
 ‘ his Affairs could never have prosper’d as  
 ‘ they did; he did not care how cunning  
 ‘ they were; himself having the Master-reach;  
 ‘ and as he chose his Ministers well, he seldom  
 ‘ chang’d, for in the twenty-four Years of  
 ‘ his Reign, he never displac’d any of his  
 ‘ Council, or Ministers of State, unless the  
 ‘ Lord Chamberlain *Stanley*; as to the rest  
 ‘ of his Subjects; he was always fear’d, but  
 ‘ never lov’d by them.’

In the Life of this Prince we see great Endowments intermix’d with as great Fail-  
 ings, and tho’ my Lord *Bacon* thinks he had no Vain-glory in him; to what else can we  
 impute that impolitick Procedure in the be-  
 ginning of his Reign; in slighting his Queen,  
 whose Title alone kept the Crown upon his  
 Head; and discountenancing and depressing  
 the *Yorkists*, who were the greatest part of  
 the Nation, for Quality as well as Numbers?  
 Was it not an Ambition to be thought to  
 Reign in his own Right; and his Prejudice  
 to the *Yorkists*, that occasion’d those many  
 Insurrections in his Reign? It is highly  
 probable he had never met with any Opposi-  
 tion, if he had govern’d his Subjects with an  
 equal Hand.

Again; Is it not apparent, that his natural  
 Propension to Mercy, which our Historians  
 take Notice of; and even the Honour and  
 Religion they ascribe to him, were made to  
 give place to his Interest; whenever it came  
 in Competition with any of them? What  
 Colour was there? What Excuse can be  
 fram’d for his putting the innocent Earl of  
*Warwick* to Death? And what can be said  
 in Defence of the Practice of betraying  
 People

A further  
 Character  
 of Hen. VII.

People into their Ruin, by his Emissaries; who were instructed to say or do any thing in order to gain Confidence with his Enemies, especially when we see him procuring Excommunications against those Persons as Traytors, whom he knew to be most firmly in his Interest, and were at that very Instant executing his Commands? What great Opinion can we, after this, entertain of his Religion? And his constantly employing Informers and Pettifoggers to wrest and strain the Penal Laws, to the Destruction of his People, and gratify his avaritious Temper, can give us no great Opinion of his Justice.

Publick  
Buildings,  
and Religi-  
ous Foun-  
dations.

The Publick Buildings and Religious Foundations, erected by this Prince, were,  
1. The Palace of *Shene* or *Richmond*, which he rebuilt from the Ground, in the 16th Year of his Reign. 2. That magnificent and beautiful Fabrick at the East end of *Westminster-Abby*, finish'd in the 18th Year of his Reign, and which still retains the Name of *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*. 3. The Hospital of the *Savoy*, formerly one of the noblest of the Royal Palaces, which he finish'd in the 22d Year of his Reign, and endow'd it with Lands, sufficient for the Maintenance of two hundred poor People. The King also erected three Monasteries for *Franciscan-Friers*, call'd *Observants*; and three other Monasteries for the *Franciscans*, call'd *Conventicals*. In this Reign also, the Countess of *Richmond*, the King's Mother, erected *Christ's-College* and *St. John's* in *Cambridge*: And Dr. *John Alcock*, Bishop of *Ely*, founded *Jesus-College* in the same Univesity. At *Oxford*, Dr. *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, founded *Corpus-Christi-College*; and Dr. *William Smith*, Bi-  
shop

shop of *Lincoln*, that of *Brazen-Nose*. In this Reign also Dr. *John Collet*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, founded *St. Paul's-School*, in the Church-Yard of that Cathedral. See *Modern History*, Vol. XV. p. 212.

As to his Title, which was every way defective, being neither Hereditary or Parliamentary, it was propos'd to be made good by his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Heiress of the House of *York*, he himself not being so much as Heir, even to the House of *Lancaster*; for *John of Gaunt*, the fourth Son of *Edward III.* from whom *Henry VII.* deriv'd his Descent, had three Wives, and by the two first left Issue, and many of the Descendants of *John of Gaunt*, by his first Wife, in whose Right he enjoy'd the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, were living at the time of King *Henry VII.*th's Accession, who descended from *Katherine Swinford*, the third Wife of *John of Gaunt*. It is very obvious, that the Descendants of *John of Gaunt* by his third Wife, could never be Heirs to the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, which came to him by his first Wife, because they were but of the half Blood. But the Sons of *John of Gaunt* by the third Wife, might have been Heirs to him, and to the Kingdom, if the Father himself had had any Right to it, upon Failure of Male-Issue by the two first Wives (as there actually was) for the Issue of *John of Gaunt*, did not derive a Right to the Kingdom from any of his Wives, but from their Father himself, who was the fourth Son of *Edward III.*

[It was sometimes pretended indeed, that *Blanch*, the first Wife of *John of Gaunt*, who lineally descended from *Edmund Crouchback*, (and whom the *Lancastrians* would have to



be the eldest Son of *Henry III.* ) was Heiress of the Crown. But this had been long given up, and *Edward I.* universally acknowledg'd to be the eldest Son of *Henry III.* and consequently *Blanch* was not Heiress of the Crown, nor could *John of Gaunt* derive any Right to it from her, he himself proceeding from the elder Son of *Henry III.* and she from the younger.]

But there remains a further Objection against King *Henry VIIth's* deriving any Right to the Kingdom from *John of Gaunt*, even supposing *John of Gaunt* himself had a Right to it.

And that is, That the Issue *John of Gaunt* had by *Katherine Swinford*, his third Wife, from whom *Henry VIIth* descended, were really Bastards, begotten and born in Adultery, during the Life of a former Wife of *John of Gaunt's*.

To this I know it is commonly replied, that the Issue of this Marriage, between *John of Gaunt* and *Katherine Swinford*, are made legitimate by Parliament, from whence some infer, they were made capable of enjoying the Crown. But this appears a Mistake, upon perusing the Act of Legitimation itself; for as it is a receiv'd Opinion, that the Crown, or the Succession thereof, cannot be affected or alter'd, but by express Words, and there being not so much as general Words in this Act, that can amount to the enabling this spurious Issue to succeed to the Crown, they must still remain under their Incapacities as to that Point.

The only Word which gives any Colour to the contrary Opinion is *Principatus*, Principalities; and this, my Lord Coke, in his fourth

fourth *Institutes*, is of Opinion, could not extend to enable them to inherit the Crown; and if we had not so great an Authority, it seems plain from the Word *Principatus* being plac'd after the Word *Ducatus*, that something less than a Dukedom was intended by it, for it is observable, that the lowest Titles are last mention'd in this Act; and it is further observable, that the Act says, all Dukedoms, Principalities, &c. *a nobis dependeant seu teneantur*, depending or holden of us, which by no Construction can relate to the Kingdom itself, but to some inferior Principalities, holden or dependant of the King; besides, it cannot be suppos'd, that if the Parliament had intended by this Act, to have alter'd or limited the Succession of the Crown, but they would have us'd more determin'd and significant Expressions. But, as I said, upon the bare perusal of the Act itself, I believe it will be easily admitted, that the Issue of *Katherine Swinford* by *John of Gaunt*, were only intended to be made capable of Inheriting such Honours and Estates as Subjects might inherit, and the Act had no View to the Succession of the Crown.

But there is no Necessity of labouring this Point any further, it being at this Day universally agreed, that the Right to the Crown was in the House of *York*, and that none of the Princes of the House of *Lancaster* had any Title to it.

Our Historians indeed are very ready to admit *Henry VIIth's* Title, after his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV.* and Heiress of the House of *York*, because it is presum'd, they say, he administred the Government by the Consent  
of

of his Wife ; yet since it appears he was ever averſe to the owning her Title, and that ſhe was wholly excluded the Exerciſe of the Government, and not ſo much as join'd with him in one Regal Act, I can't ſee why he ſhould not ſtill be eſteem'd a Uſurper.

Indeed had the Royal Aſſent been given by her, to the Act which ſettled the Crown upon *Henry VII.* and his Iſſue, then might his Title have been admitted on all Hands. But the bare marrying a Queen of *England*, will not confer the Power, or even the Name of a King upon the Man ſhe marries.

The Truth is, King *Henry* had Victory and the Pope on his ſide, and having married the undoubted Heireſs of the Crown, had no Competitors to fear ; and as he was not under a Neceſſity of declaring by what Right he held the Crown, he gratified his Humour, in not declaring he held it in the Right of a Family, which of all others he hated. We ſee it was with abundance of Reluctance, he was at length prevail'd on to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, tho' under the moſt ſolemn Engagements to do it, and without which Alliance he knew he muſt never expect to ſit eaſy on his Throne.

His Marriage and Iſſue.

He married, as has been already obſerv'd, *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Edw. IV.* whom two Years afterwards he cauſ'd to be crown'd. She liv'd his Wife eighteen Years, and died in Child-bed in the Tower of *London* the 11th of *February*, 1503, the very Day of the Month on which ſhe was born. She was buried at *Weſtminſter* in that magnificent Chapel, and under a rich Monument of Copper gilt, which her Huſband had erected.

He



He had Issue by her three Sons and four Daughters. His eldest Son *Arthur* was born at *Winchester* the 20th Day of *September*, in the second Year of his Reign, and died at *Ludlow* at fifteen Years old and a half. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Mary's* in *Worcester*, where, in the South-side of the Quire, he lies entomb'd in Touch or Jet, without any Remembrance of him by Picture. His second Son *Henry* was born at *Greenwich* in *Kent* on the 22d Day of *June*, in the seventh Year of his Father's Reign, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. His third Son *Edmund* was born in the tenth Year of his Father's Reign, and died at five Years of Age at *Bishops-Hatfield*, and was buried at *Westminster*. His eldest Daughter *Margaret* was born the 29th Day of *November*, in the fifth Year of her Father's Reign, and at 14 Years of Age was married to *James* the IVth, King of *Scotland*, by whom she had three Sons, *James V.* *Arthur* and *Alexander*, and one Daughter, which three last died all of them young: and after the Death of her Husband King *James*, (slain at *Flodden-Field* in Fight against the *English*) she was re-married to *Archibald Dowglass*, Earl of *Angus*, in the Year 1514, by whom she had Issue *Henry* Lord *Dernley*, esteem'd the most beautiful and accomplish'd Nobleman in the Court of *Scotland*, who married *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and by her had Issue *James* the First, King of *Great-Britain*, and *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Father of the Lady *Arabella*. The second Daughter of *Henry VII.* was the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was born *Anno* 1492, and died at three Years of Age. His third Daughter was the Princess *Mary*, first espous'd to *Charles*  
King

King of *Castile*, afterwards elected Emperor; and stil'd *Charles V.* but this Marriage being never consummated, she was afterwards married to *Lewis XII.* King of *France*, who being then advanc'd in Years, dy'd three Months after the Marriage; and she was married a third time to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, by whom she had several Children; and these King *Henry VIII.* declar'd Heirs to the Crown on failure of Issue of his Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, as he was empower'd to do by Act of Parliament. Notwithstanding which, the Nation recogniz'd King *James V.* of *Scotland* their King (who was descended from *Margaret*, the eldest Daughter of *Henry VII.*) on the Demise of Queen *Elizabeth*, the great Inducement to which, was the uniting the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* under one Head; tho' if the Parliament can break into the lineal Succession, and defeat an Hereditary Right, there is no doubt but the Posterity of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Princess *Mary*, ought to have been preferr'd to the *Scotish* Line.

King *Henry VIII.* settles the Succession in the *Suffolk* Family.

Statutes in this Reign. The principal Statutes pass'd in this Reign; besides those relating to the Taxes already mention'd, were the following, viz.

Priests Incontinence punish'd. 1 *Hen. 7. Cap. 4.* empowering Ordinaries to punish Priests guilty of Adultery, Fornication or Incest, by imprisoning their Persons for such time as the Ordinaries saw fit.

Hunters in disguise guilty of Felony. 1 *Hen. 7. Cap. 7.* The hunting in Forests, Parks or Warrens, in the Night-time disguis'd, declar'd to be Felony, unless the Party confess'd the Fact on his Examination, and then he was only Finable.

Offences punishable in the Star-Chamber. 3 *Hen. 7. Cap. 1.* empowers the Star-Chamber to try and punish several Offences which before

before were only determin'd in the Courts of Common Law ; and in Cases of Murder gives Appeal of the Wife or nearest Relation their Appeal, Murder. after an Acquittal, at the King's Suit.

3 *Hen. 7. Cap. 2.* makes it Felony to carry away a Woman, Wife, Widow or Maid, against her Will, having Lands or Goods, or being Heir Apparent to her Ancestors, and the Abettors in such an Offence equally Criminal.

Carrying away Women, or marrying or defiling them against their Consents, Felony.

3 *Hen. 7. Cap. 4.* declares all Deeds of Gift to defraud Creditors void.

Fraudulent Deeds.

3 *Hen. 7. Cap. 8.* requires all Merchants Aliens to lay out the Money they receive in the Merchandize of this Realm.

Merchants Alien.

3 *Hen. 7. Cap. 10.* gives Costs to the Plaintiff where the Defendant brings a Writ of Error.

Costs in a Writ of Error.

3 *Hen. 7. Cap. 14.* declares it to be Felony for any of the King's sworn Servants, under the Degree of a Peer, to conspire the Destruction of the King, or any Lord of this Realm, or any other Person sworn of the King's Council, or of the Steward, Treasurer or Comptroller of the King's House. Conviction to be by 12 of the Household before the said Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller, or any two of them.

Felony to conspire the Death of a Minister of State, &c.

4 *Hen. 7. Cap.* prohibits Butchers to kill Meat in any wall'd Town, or in Cambridge.

Butchers not to kill in wall'd Towns.

4 *Hen. 7. Cap. 12.* requires Justices of Peace to perform their Duty, on pain of being turn'd out and otherwise punish'd.

Justices of Peace.

4 *Hen. 7. Cap. 13.* declares that the Benefit of the Clergy shall be allow'd but once ; and that the Person Convict shall be mark'd openly before the Judge, upon the Brawn of

Clergy to be allow'd but once. Felons mark'd,



his Left Thumb, with an M for Murder, and with a T for any other Felony.

Fines who shall be barr'd by them.

4 *Hen. 7. Cap. 24.* provides, that Fines be proclaim'd four Terms successively ; and that they shall conclude all Persons after 5 Years Nonclaim, except Persons under Age, in Prison, out of the Realm, or of Non sane Memory ; and these are not to be barr'd till five Years after such Impediments are remov'd ; nor are any to be barr'd till five Years after their respective Rights accrue ; nor are any to be bound by a Fine where the Parties levying it had nothing in the Lands.

Soldiers serving a King *de facto* indemnified. Weights and Measures.

11 *Hen. 7. Cap. 1.* This Act indemnifies all those who serve a King *de facto* in his Wars.

11 *Hen. 7. Cap. 4.* and 12 *Hen. 7. Cap. 5.* orders Weights and Measures to be sent to every City and Borough ; and that all Market Towns shall furnish themselves with Weights and Measures according to the Standard, and all People buy and sell thereby.

Riots.

11 *Hen. 7. Cap. 6.* was made for suppressing Riots, but is now expir'd.

Usury.

11 *Hen. 7. Cap. 8.* was made against Usury, but has since been alter'd.

Paupers.

11 *Hen. 7. Cap. 12.* enacts, That poor People may have Original Writs and Subpœna's gratis ; and that the Judges of the respective Courts assign the Pauper Council and Attornies, who are enjoin'd to dispatch his Business without Fees.

Horses.

11 *Hen. 7. Cap. 13.* prohibits the Exportation of Horses without the King's License.

Game.

11 *Hen. 7. Cap. 17.* inflicts a Penalty of ten Pounds on such as take Pheasants or Partridges in another's Freehold ; and those who take the Eggs of Hawks or Swans, to be fin'd and imprison'd a Year and a Day.

11 *Hen.*

11 *Hen. 7. Cap. 16.* and 19 *Hen. 7. Cap. 1.* All Persons requires all Persons, having Offices, Fees or <sup>in Office,</sup> Annuities of the Crown, to attend the King <sup>&c. to serve</sup> in his Wars, on pain of forfeiting such Offices, <sup>in the Wars</sup> &c. but they were to receive Wages from the King from the time they left their Dwellings.

19 *Hen. 7. Cap. 10.* gives the Custody of Goals. the common Goals to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties, and ascertains the Penalties for Escapes.

19 *Hen. 7. Cap. 21.* prohibits the importing Foreign Silk wrought in Ribbons, Laces, Girdles, <sup>Manu-</sup> Cauls, Corsets, Tissues or Points, on pain of <sup>factures</sup> Forfeiture. <sup>prohibited.</sup>

Two very great Discoveries were made in *America* this Reign, viz. 1. That of *America* by Co- <sup>discover'd</sup> *lumbus* for the *Spaniards* in the Year 1492; <sup>by Colum-</sup> and 2. The Passage to the *East-Indies* round <sup>bus.</sup> the Cape of Good Hope by *Vasco de Gama* for <sup>The East-</sup> the *Portuguese*, Anno 1497. <sup>Indies by</sup> *Vasco de* *Gama.*

By the former the *Spaniards* became possess'd of *Potosi* and other silver Mines, which render'd Silver much more plentiful in *Europe* than it was before that Discovery. And by the latter the Silks, Spices, and other valuable Merchandizes of the East, were brought to *Europe* by the *Portuguese* Shipping, which formerly came over Land thro' *Egypt* and other parts of *Turky*, and were brought from thence to us by the *Venetians*, *Genoese*, *Florentines*, and other Maritime Powers of the *Mediterranean*, who since this Discovery are extremely declin'd in their Wealth and Grandeur.

I shall conclude with observing, that the or- <sup>The Dif-</sup> dinary Price of Wheat in this Reign was Six- <sup>ference be-</sup> pence a Bushel; and the common Price of <sup>tween the</sup> Wheat since the beginning of this Century, <sup>Price of</sup> one Year with another, has been about three <sup>Wheat and</sup> the Value <sup>Shillings of Silver in</sup>

that Reign  
and the  
present.

Shillings and Six-pence a Bushel; from whence I conjecture, that Silver was about seven times the value two hundred Years ago that it is at present; or that one hundred Pounds *per Ann.* would go as far then as seven hundred will now, which makes the Treasure King *Henry* left behind him appear exceeding great, as being equivalent to twelve millions six hundred thousand Pounds of our Money. It is highly probable he had three Fourths of the Coin of the Nation in his Coffers.



（The following text is extremely faint and illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a list or a series of entries, possibly names or titles, arranged in columns. The text is too blurry to transcribe accurately.)



HENRY. VIII.

## C H A P. XXIX.

*Contains the Reign of HENRY VIII.*

**T**H E late King *Henry VII.* dying on the 22d of *April*, 1509, his only surviving Son, was immediately proclaim'd King by the Name of *Henry VIII.* wanting then but little more than two Months of eighteen Years of Age, for he was born on the 28th of *June*, 1491. He continu'd most of the Privy-Council and great Officers of State in their Posts, who had serv'd his Father, particularly *Dr. Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor; *Dr. Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, Secretary of State and Lord Privy-Seal; *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, Lord Treasurer; *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Steward of the Household; *Sir Edward Poynings*, Comptroller; *Sir Thomas Lovel*, Master of the Court of Wards, and Governor of the Tower; *Dr. Ruthal*, soon after made Bishop of *Durham*, &c. all of them either Ecclesiasticks or Soldiers; not one of them, 'tis observ'd, were common Lawyers: The Reason of which, perhaps might be, because *Empson* and *Dudley*, who were of that Profession, had render'd themselves so odious to the People.

While Preparations were making for the late King's Funeral, the young Monarch retir'd to the Tower, where he assembled his Council, to consider of the State of his Affairs, and the first thing resolv'd on, was to confirm the Pardon his Father had granted a little before his Death, for all Crimes, except Treason, Murder, and Felony. He also

*A.D. 1509*

*A. 1 Hen. 8.*

His Accession.

He continues the Chief Ministers of State.

A general Pardon.

issu'd



A.D. 1509

A. 1 Hen. 8.

Offers of  
Restitution*Empson and  
Dudley*  
summon'd  
before the  
Council.  
*Empson's*  
Defence.

issu'd a Proclamation, declaring, that if any of his Subjects had been wrongfully depriv'd of their Goods, under Colour of a Commission for levying Forfeitures in the last Reign, he should receive Satisfaction ; and a multitude of Petitions being preferr'd thereupon, against *Empson* and *Dudley*, who had been employ'd in levying the Forfeitures upon Penal Statutes, they were summon'd before the Council, to give an Account of their Conduct, where *Empson* in a set Speech, endeavour'd to defend himself against the Clamours of the People. He said, he could not but take it as a Favour, that he was allow'd to speak for himself, considering with what Violence he was prosecuted ; but to what purpose should he speak, when the King his Master, to whom he should appeal as his Supreme Judge and Protector, had abandon'd him to his Enemies, for no other Cause, than the obeying his Father's Commands, and maintaining his Authority ; and the People, on whose equal Trial he must put his Life, sought his Destruction, for executing the very Laws that they themselves had made. If he was to be punish'd for putting the Statutes in Execution, why did they not first repeal them ? Was it ever known before that a Man was condemn'd for doing Justice ? Especially when the King, the Chief Dispencer thereof, had confirm'd and warrant'd every part of their Proceedings ?

To which it was answer'd, that he had receiv'd a great deal of Liberty to speak ill, as well as to do it, and he would find at last, that he was punish'd for passing the Bounds of his Commission and stretching the Law, which in itself was severe enough, chiefly to  
the

the Destruction of the Poor. The Substance of the Charge against *Empson* and *Dudley*, was, 1. That they had committed several Persons to Prison, without suffering them to answer till they had compounded for their Fines.

A.D. 1509.

A. 1 Hen. 8:

The Charge against *Empson* and *Dudley*.

2. That they charg'd People with holding their Estates in *Capite*, without suffering them to traverse the matter, till they had paid excessive Compositions.

3. That Wards of full Age were forc'd to pay unreasonable Fines.

4. That Out-law'd Persons were forc'd to pay half the Profits of their Lands for two Years.

5. That they usurp'd upon the Jurisdiction of other Courts, by determining matters belonging to them.

6. That they had fin'd Jurors for not bringing in Verdicts as they directed.

How much of this Charge was true, or how far their Proceedings might be Justified by the late King's Commission, says the Lord *Herbet*, does not appear, but they were committed to the Tower on the 23d of *April*, while the Informers and Promoters they had employ'd, were set in the Pillory, and so roughly handled by the Mob, that they all died in Prison, except one who took Sanctuary.

They are imprison'd in the Tower. Their Agents murder'd by the Mob.

Thus we find the Ministry making a Sacrifice of their inferior Agents and Officers, at the beginning of this Reign, to remove the Odium of the late Extortions from themselves; for it is not to be suppos'd, that those unhappy Men durst have distress'd and plunder'd the Nation in the manner they did, if they had not been supported and encourag'd

in


A.D. 1509 in it by their Superiors. But this has ever been the Policy of the great Men at the Helm, when they have ventur'd upon any destructive Schemes, to give up their Instruments, in order to turn the Fury of the People from themselves, expecting to be look'd upon as Patriots, perhaps for punishing those very Facts which they themselves advis'd. But however that was, the People being brought into Temper by the Prosecution of the immediate Instruments of their late Miseries; the next thing consider'd of by the Council, was the Solemnization of the King's Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*, his Brother *Arthur's* Widow; against which it having been objected, that their Issue might hereafter be deem'd illegitimate, it was answer'd, that the marrying a Brother's Wife, where there was no Children, was not only permitted, but commanded by the *Mosaick* Law; and further, that the Princess *Katherine* protested she was still a Virgin, and offer'd to put herself upon a Trial by Matrons; which added to the Pope's Dispensation, was then thought sufficient to authorize such a Marriage, (tho' it was several Years afterwards deem'd In-

The King married to the Princess of *Wales*, his Brother's Wife. They are both Crown'd. The King's Grandmother dies.

cestuous.) Accordingly the Marriage was celebrated in the beginning of *June*, and on the 24th, the King and Queen were Crown'd at *Westminster*, by Archbishop *Warham*; but before the end of the same Month, the Court was oblig'd to go into Mourning for *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, the King's Grandmother, who died on the 29th, a Lady universally esteem'd in those Times, and whose Memory is still preserv'd by the noble Structures she founded in the University of *Cambridge*.



*Cambridge*, which have been mention'd already. A.D. 1509

Notwithstanding the Charge that had been brought against *Empson* and *Dudley*, for exceeding the Bounds of their Commission, and stretching the Penal Laws, to the Destruction of the King's Subjects, they had been so careful to have the King's Authority, and even his Hand to warrant the most violent part of their Proceedings, that there was little or no Foundation to prosecute them for what they had done in pursuance of their Commission. Whereupon they were Indicted for High-Treason, in conspiring the Destruction of the present King, and the Subversion of the Government; for which I can't perceive there was any other Foundation, than their consulting with their Friends and Retainers, how to protect themselves from the Fury of the People, upon the late King's Death. However the Jury were pleas'd to interpret it a Conspiracy against the Government. *Dudley* was tried and convicted on an Indictment for this Conspiracy at *Guildhall, London*, on the 16th of *July*; and *Empson* was found guilty of the like Indictment on the first of *October* following, at *Northampton*. However, the King being conscious they were guilty of nothing worse than obeying his Father's Commands, thought fit to reprieve them till the Year following; whereupon they were both remanded to the Tower. A. 1 Hen. 8.  


*Empson* and  
*Dudley* con-  
victed of  
High-  
Treason.

They are  
repriev'd.

The young King being at Peace with all the neighbouring Powers, and universally belov'd at home, as well on account of his putting a Stop to the Extortions practis'd in the late Reign, and punishing some of the

The King  
lavishes  
away his  
Treasure in  
Festivals;  
&c.

A.D. 1509

A. 1 Hen. 8.



Instruments thereof, as for his unbounded Generosity, indulg'd his youthful Inclinations, and spent his time in Jufts, Tournaments, Festivals, and Shews, wherein he lavish'd away great part of the Treasure his Predecessor had amass'd, leaving the Administration of the Government, in the mean time, to his Council and Ministers of State, among whom the principal were Dr. Fox, Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Earl of *Surry*, Lord Treasurer. The former had long been a Minister to his Father, and assisted him in gathering the vast Sums he had hoarded up, and it griev'd him at the Heart to see them thrown away faster than they were gotten; which he charg'd chiefly on the Lord Treasurer, who, notwithstanding he had gain'd the late King's Favour by husbanding the publick Money with the utmost Frugality, encourag'd and applauded the present King's expensive way of living, 'tis said, by which he insinuated himself no less into his Affections than he had into his Father's; nor was it only the Lord Treasurer that encourag'd the King's Profuseness, but almost the whole Court, who daily felt the Effects of their Master's Bounty. Whereupon the old Bishop of *Winchester* and his frugal Maxims were generally derided, and his Interest at Court began to decline, which this Prelate being conscious of, in order to support himself, recommended his Friend Mr. *Wolsey*, one of King *Henry VIIth's* Chaplains, to the young King's Favour. He was a Clergyman of a sprightly Genius, and one who had discharg'd himself with great Address in some Negotiations in which he had been employ'd in the late Reign; and the Bishop procur'd him at

this

this time, the Post of Lord Almoner, and introduc'd him into the Privy-Council, whereby he found means to insinuate himself so far into the King's Affections, that he became the most absolute Favourite that ever reign'd in the Court of *England*. ' He knew, say some Writers, ' as well how to discourse the ' King in matters of Learning, (particularly ' School - Divinity, in which his Highness ' chiefly delighted ) as to comply with him ' in his Pleasures. He could sing, dance, ' laugh, jest, and play, with those Youths ' in whose Attendance and Company the ' King much delighted ; briefly ( to use *Polidore's* Words ) he made his private House, ' *Voluptatum omnium Sacrarium, quo Regem frequenter ducebat.* A Receptacle for Pleasures of all kinds, where he frequently entertain'd the King. He omitted not yet, ' in the midst of all these Jollities, to speak ' seriously, representing so all Businesses to ' the King, as he got much Credit with him, ' and this again was confirm'd by those ' Gallants, who contributed not a little thereunto. Whereupon he began to tell the ' King, that he should sometimes follow his ' Studies in School-Divinity, and sometimes ' take his Pleasure, and leave the Care of ' publick Affairs to him, promising that ' what was amiss in his Kingdom should be ' rectified. Likewise he omitted not to infuse Fears and Jealousies of all those whom ' he conceived the King might affect, whereby he became so perfect a Courtier, that he had soon attain'd the Highth of Favour. ' *For as Princes have Arts to govern Kingdoms,* ' *Courtiers have those by which they govern*

*A.D. 1509*
*A. 1 Hen. 8*

*Wolsey*  
made Lord  
Almoner  
and a Pri-  
vy-Coun-  
sellor.



A.D. 1510 : *their Princes, when through any Indisposition  
they grow unapt for Affairs.*

1 & 2 H. 8

*Empson and  
Dudley at-  
tainted by  
Parliament*

They are  
repriev'd  
again.

Prosecuti-  
ons on pe-  
nal Statutes  
limited.

*Empson and  
Dudley be-  
headed.*

A Parliament being assembled in *January* the following Year, *Empson* and *Dudley* were attainted of High Treason by Act of Parliament, notwithstanding they had been before convicted of High Treason in the Courts of Law; possibly the World were by this time convinc'd that there was no legal Evidence of High Treason against them, and therefore this Statute was made to take them off as Oppressors of the People, in order to satisfy the King's Conscience; and notwithstanding this Expedient, we find the King so averse to putting them to Death, that he repriev'd them again for several Months. Their Villanies might be as notorious as they are represented in History, but this destructive Practice of condemning Men by the Legislature, who had not offended against any Law in being, appear'd very shocking to this Prince in the Beginning of his Reign, tho' it was a Method to which he gave too much Encouragement afterwards.

Another Act pass'd this Sessions of Parliament, which requir'd Prosecutions on penal Statutes to be commenc'd within three Years after the Offence committed. And a third to empower Persons to traverse Offices that had been found against them, and render'd them liable to Tenures in Capite, which very much endear'd the young Monarch to his Subjects. Several Fines also were forgiven by the King that had been inflicted for the Breach of the penal Laws. And lastly, to give entire Satisfaction to the People, *Empson* and *Dudley* were beheaded on the 18th of *August*: But I don't find the King return'd any of the Money that had

had been extorted from the Subject by their Means in the former Reign; tho' it was all soon spent in Shews, Jufts, Masquerades, Musick and other Entertainments; and, according to some Writers, a good deal of it was lost at Play to Foreigners, who cheated the King notoriously, for which they were at length banish'd the Court.

A.D. 1519

1 &amp; 2 H. 8

The Money hoarded in the last Reign thrown away in this

Having treated of the most material Domestick Occurrences in the beginning of this Reign, it will be necessary to take a short View of the State of the rest of the Powers of *Europe*, in order to understand the Grounds and Motives on which the *English* Ministry went in their Treaties and Transactions with them. And it appears that the *Venetians* being grown immensely rich at this time, by purchasing the Merchandizes of *India* and other Eastern Nations in *Egypt*, and vending them again in the several Kingdoms of *Europe*, as they did till the Navigation round the Cape of *Good Hope* in *Africk* was found out, became so extremely Proud and self-sufficient in their own Eyes, that they encroach'd on the Territories of several Princes in *Italy*, and were not afraid to affront the greatest Monarchs; which occasion'd a Confederacy to be form'd against them at *Cambray* in the Year 1508, to which Pope *Julius II*, *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, the Republick of *Florence*, and the King of *Hungary* were Parties, who seem'd determin'd utterly to destroy this proud State that then pretended to hold the Balance, and to be the Umpire of all the Affairs of *Europe*. The *French* King took the Field against them first in Person, and

The State of the Rest of *Europe* in the Beginning of this Reign

A Confederacy of most of the Powers of *Europe* against the *Venetians*.

*A.D.* 1510 and having pass'd the *Alps*, came to an Engagement with the Forces of the Republick, and defeated them on the 14th of *May*, 1509; after which he became Master of *Cremona* and several other *Venetian* Towns, which he pretended belong'd to him, as having been dismember'd from the Dutchy of *Milan*, of which he had lately possess'd himself. His Holiness also thunder'd out his Bulls of Excommunication against the *Venetians*, on Account of their retaining some Towns which he alledg'd belong'd to the Holy See; and his General the Duke of *Ferrara* took from them *Ravenna* and several other Places. The *Germans* seiz'd *Trieste*, and the Marquis of *Mantua* some other Towns, which put the Republick of *Venice* in the utmost Consternation; whereupon they submitted themselves to the Pope and the King of *Spain*, and consented to deliver up the Towns they claim'd, on Condition they would break their Alliance with the *French*. The Pope being alarm'd at the swift Progress the *French* made in *Italy*, soon deserted his Confederates and clos'd with the *Venetians*, as did *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, on their restoring him some Towns they possess'd in *Naples*; and both of them enter'd into an Alliance with the State of *Venice* and the *Swiss* to drive *Lewis* over the *Alps* again; for *Ferdinand* apprehended if the *French* continu'd in *Italy*, they would soon revive their Claim to his Kingdom of *Naples*; and the Pope expected to be treated with Insolence by that haughty Nation if they remain'd in his Neighbourhood. On the other hand, the *French* King and the *Imperialists* enter'd into a stricter Alliance; and by the Advice and Assistance of some Cardinals devoted to their Interests, call'd a General Council at *Pisa*, who threat-

1 & 2 H. 8

The *Venetians* defeated by the *French*.

They lose almost all their Territories in *Italy*.

A Confederacy to drive the *French* out of *Italy*.

need



ned to depose the Pope and set up another in his stead. Whereupon the Pope summon'd a Council to be held at the Church of *St. John de Lateran* in *Rome*, in Opposition to that of *Pisa*.

During these Transactions in *Italy*, an Embassy came from *France* to *England*, in order to renew the Alliance between the two Nations, which was agreed to by the *English* Ministry, on Condition *Lewis* the *French* King gave fresh Security for the Payment of the Arrears of the 745,000 Crowns, which *Charles VIII.* of *France* had stipulated to pay the late King *Henry VII.* and his Successors.

Not long after Pope *Julius* made the King of *England* a Present of a consecrated Rose ; and both his Holiness and *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* propos'd his entering into the Confederacy with them against *France*, according to some Historians ; but we find only a defensive Alliance between *Spain* and *England* at this time, in *Rymer's Acts of State* : Tho' it appears by the same Acts, that *Ferdinand* being engag'd in a War with the *Moors* of *Africa*, *Henry* sent him a Reinforcement of a thousand *English* Archers, commanded by the Lord *Darcy*, who return'd to *England* without entering upon Action, the *Spaniards* being diverted from that Enterprize by more important Views ; for Dr. *Bambridge*, Archbishop of *York*, the *English* Ambassador at *Rome*, having persuaded his Master to come into the Holy League (as it was call'd) in Defence of the Pope this Year, (for which that Prelate was made a Cardinal) *Ferdinand* determin'd to drop the *African* Expedition, and go on with his Project of driving the *French* out of *Italy* with those very Forces he had

A.D. 1510

A. 2 Hen. 8.

The *French* and Imperialists call a Council at *Pisa*, to depose the Pope, and his Holiness calls another at *Rome*.

An Embassy from *France*.

A.D. 1511

A. 3 Hen. 8.

King *Henry* comes into the Alliance against *France*.

A.D. 1511 had rais'd against the *Infidels* of *Africa*. However, *Henry* did not think fit to declare against *France* till he had endeavour'd to renew the Peace with *Scotland*, that Nation ever making a Diversion in the North of *England* when the *English* were engag'd against *France*. He nominated Commissioners therefore to treat with those of *Scotland*; and adjust such Differences as might have happen'd between the Borderers of both Kingdoms; but as the *Scottish* King was resolv'd to adhere to the *French* King, the antient Allie and Protector of that Nation against the *English*, that Treaty came to nothing; and it appear'd evidently that the *Scots* only waited for a Pretence to renew Hostilities with *England* when she should be engag'd in a Foreign War; for about this time *Andrew Breton* or *Barton*, a *Scottish* Merchant, having obtain'd Letters of Mart against the *Portuguese*, who had seiz'd a Ship belonging to him, not content with reimbursing himself with the Prizes he made of the *Portuguese* Ships, took several Vessels belonging to the *English*. Whereupon the Ministry fitted out two stout Men of War, which were commanded by two Sons of the Earl of *Surry*, who fought *Breton*, kill'd him in the Engagement, and took his Ships. However, King *Henry* order'd the Prisoners to be set at Liberty, because he would not give the King of *Scotland* any Pretence to quarrel. But this would not content that Prince, he demanded Satisfaction for the attacking his Subjects; tho' it was prov'd that *Breton* was the Aggressor, had practis'd PyracY, and taken several *English* Ships, for which his Followers might justly have been punish'd as Pyrates.

E. 3 Hen. 8

Endea-  
vours to  
confirm his  
Alliance  
with *Scot-*  
*land*.

*Breton* the  
*Scottish* Py-  
rate kill'd,  
and his  
Ships taken.

The King  
of *Scots* en-  
clines to  
the *French*.

In the mean time the Pope assembled the Council of *Lateran*, and excommunicated the Kings of *France* and *Navarre*, for adhering to that of *Pisa*, and transferr'd their Kingdoms to such Princes as should conquer them; which 'tis said first gave the Hint to *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* of making a Conquest of *Navarre*, and uniting it to *Arragon*, to which it lies contiguous; and that he might engage his Son-in-law, the King of *England*, in this Enterprize, he propos'd their uniting their Forces, and invading the Province of *Guienne*, which adjoins both to *Navarre* and *Biscay* in *Spain*. He represented that it wou'd be no difficult Matter, with the Assistance of the Forces of *Spain*, to reduce *Guienne* to the Obedience of the *English* again, especially since the Natives were weary of the *French* Yoke, and desirous to change their Master.

A.D. 1511

A. 3 Hen. 8

The Pope summons a Council at Rome and excommunicates the *French* King and the King of *Navarre*. *Ferdinand* proposes the reducing of *Guienne* to the Obedience of the *English*.

These Matters being debated in the Privy Council of *England*, the Lord *Herbert* relates that those who were for a War with *France* represented that the King could never have a fairer Opportunity of maintaining the Pope's Authority, or of recovering his own Rights in *France* than now, when the *French* King was advanc'd with the Flower of his Army into *Italy*, in order to distress his Holiness and make a Conquest of that Country: That the King's attacking *France* on this side wou'd infallibly relieve the Pope, and he might recover the *English* Provinces before the *French* wou'd be in a Condition to oppose his Progress. On the other hand it was objected, that a War with *France* was much more difficult and hazardous now than heretofore, when *Guienne*, *Anjou*, *Tourain* and *Normandy* were in our hands, and the Dukes of *Burgundy*

Debates in the *English* Council on commencing a War with *France*.



*A.D.* 1511 and *Bretagne* our Confederates ; and yet even then *England* was far from being a Gainer by the *French* Wars, tho' she was ever victorious ; on the contrary, the King's Treasure was ever exhausted, and the People impoverish'd without receiving any considerable Advantage. The natural Situation of Islands seem'd not to sort with Conquests on the Continent of *Europe* : If we wou'd enlarge our Empire, it ought to be by Sea, in distant Regions, to which Providence seem'd to have destin'd us : The *Indies* were now discover'd, from whence vast Treasures were brought every Day ; thither we ought to bend our Force ; and if the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* refus'd to admit us into their Discoveries, there were still Countries in abundance to be planted, that were yet unpossess'd by any *European* Nation ; nor was there less Piety in converting Infidels to the Christian Religion in those barbarous Countries than in succouring Pope *Julius*, a doubtful and controverted Head of the Church.

The King  
inclines to  
a War with  
*France*.

But the young King, says the same noble Writer, bias'd by his Zeal for the Pope's Service, and an Ambition to recover the *English* Territories in *France*, declin'd this sober Advice, and adher'd to the former, for which he had two Reasons more than had yet been urg'd ; the first of which was that *Maximilian* the Emperor seem'd to be upon the point of breaking with the *French*, and coming into the Alliance, and the other, that the Pope intended to take away the Title of *Christianissimus Rex*, *Most Christian King*, from the *French*, and confer it on the King of *England*, the latter of which was no small Inducement to King *Henry* to undertake this War, who

who at that time valu'd himself on nothing more than his being esteem'd most devoted to the Church. However the King thought fit, before he declar'd War with *France*, to send Dr. *Young*, Master of the Rolls, on a monitory Embassy to King *Lewis*, requiring him to withdraw his Arms out of *Italy*, and desist from the War against the Pope: of which King *Lewis* taking little Notice, the King enter'd into a new Treaty with *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law, whereby they took upon them the Defence and Protection of the Holy *Roman* Church against all her Enemies; particularly, *Ferdinand* was to take up Arms in her Defence in *Italy*, and *Henry* on the side of *Guienne*, whither he agreed to send a Body of six thousand Foot, to join with fifteen hundred Men at Arms, fifteen hundred light Horse, and four thousand Foot of *Ferdinand's* Troops; who promis'd also to furnish the *English* with Provisions for their Money. Each of them also agreed to fit out a Fleet with three thousand Soldiers on board, besides Mariners; and *Ferdinand* stipulated to provide forty other Ships to transport the *English* Troops to *Guienne*: They agreed also to support the Council of *Lateran* and oppose that of *Pisa*.

A.D. 1511  
A 3 Hen. 8  
An Alliance between England and Spain.

The King having assembled the Parliament on the 4th of *February*, 1512, acquainted them with his Design of making War on *France*, declaring that his principal View in this Enterprize was to rescue the Pope from the Oppression of the *French* King, and dissolve the Council of *Pisa*, which had been lately adjourn'd to *Milan*. Whereupon the Parliament granted a Supply suitable to the Occasion, and an Act was made, which

A.D. 1512  
A. 4 Hen. 8  
The Parliament grant Supplies for the War.

*A.D.* 1512 gave great Encouragement to those who shou'd attend on the King in the *French* War. In this Parliament also *John Dudley* was restor'd to the same Honours his Father *Edmund Dudley* had enjoy'd before his Attainder.

An Embassy sent to the Council of *Lateran*.

Upon the rising of the Parliament an Embassy was sent to the Council of *Lateran*, the Ambassadors being *Dr. Silvester*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Sir Robert Wingfield*, who were empower'd to agree to all things necessary for the Reformation of the Church both in the Head and Members, tho' very little of that Kind, it is observ'd, was consider'd at this Council.

Ten thousand Men sent to *Biscay* to join the *Spaniards* and invade *Guienne*.

All things being prepar'd for the Expedition to *France*, ten thousand Men, under the Command of the Marquis of *Dorset*, were put on board the *Spanish* Transports, the latter End of *May*, and arriv'd at *Port Pafage* in *Biscay*, about the eighth of *June* following, being convoy'd thither by a strong Squadron of *English* Men of War.

The *English* Archers how arm'd.

My Lord *Herbert* observes, there were in this Army five thousand Archers who used to charge with Halberts after they had deliver'd their Arrows, so that they were prepar'd both for a close and distant Fight, and were able to defend themselves against the Attacks of the Horse, as our Musketeers are at this day with the Bayonets at the End of their Pieces; but from hence we may conclude that Fire-Arms were not then much in use in our Armies, especially if we consider that this very Year an Act of Parliament was made to encourage and regulate the Use of Long-bows. But to proceed, The *English* Admiral, *Sir Edward Howard*, having seen the Troops landed, set Sail again for



for *England*, and in his Passage insulted the Coast of *Bretagne*; whereupon the *French* assembled a great Fleet and engag'd the *English*. The Battel was very bloody on both sides. The *Regent*, the largest Ship in the *English* Fleet, commanded by Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Master of the Horse to King *Henry* grappled with a *French* Ship of still greater Bulk, and both of them were blown up with all the Men on board, there being about 700 in the *English* Ship, and a thousand in that of the *French*; upon which Accident the *French* thought fit to retire to their Harbours.

A.D. 1512

A. 4 Hen. 8

A Sea-Fight between the *English* and *French*.

In the mean while the Marquis of *Dorset*, who lay encamp'd near *Font-Arabia* in *Biscay*, in expectation of being join'd by the *Spaniards*, receiv'd a Message from the King of *Spain*, that the Duke of *Alva* wou'd take the Field in a short time, and assist in the Siege of *Bayonne* (one of the most considerable Ports of *Guienne*); but that Prince alter'd his Mind soon after, and insisted that it was not prudent to lay siege to *Bayonne* till they had oblig'd the King of *Navarre* to declare for them against the *French*, or deliver some of his Towns into their Hands by way of Caution, because the *French* and *Navarrois* might cut off their Provisions, and render the taking of the Place impracticable; which the *English* General thought so reasonable, that he sent an Officer to the King of *Navarre*, requiring him to abandon the Interest of *France*, and come into the Holy League (as it was call'd) in Defence of the Pope. The King of *Navarre* answering, He was resolv'd to stand Neuter, the King of *Spain* and the Marquis insisted he shou'd put four of his Towns into their Hands as a Caution for their Security; but

The King of *Spain* refuses to invade *Guienne* till he had taken some Towns in *Navarre*.

*A.D* 1512 but while they were debating this Matter the *French* drew down a considerable Army to the Frontiers of *Guienne*, and reinforc'd the Garrison of *Bayonne* with several thousand Men; whereupon *Ferdinand* desir'd that the Marquis of *Dorset* wou'd join his Army, that they might make themselves Masters of some Towns in *Navarre*, and thereby preserve their Communication with *Bayonne* when they shou'd besiege it. To which the Marquis answer'd, That he had no Orders to attack the King of *Navarre*; whereupon the Duke of *Alva* laid siege to *Pampeluna* the Capital City of *Navarre* with the *Spanish* Troops only and took it on the 25th of *July*, and not long after he reduc'd the rest of the King of *Navarre*'s Territories, which lay on the *Spanish* side of the *Pyrenees*, while the *French* possess'd themselves of *Bearn*, and that Part of his Country which lies on the side of *France*; so that the King of *Navarre* was entirely dispossest of his Dominions in a few Weeks. And now the Marquis of *Dorset* being sensible that the sole Design of King *Ferdinand* in engaging the *English* in this Expedition was that they might cover his Country against the *French* while he reduc'd the Kingdom of *Navarre* under his Dominion; and finding his Troops grown very sickly, he obtain'd Transports with some difficulty, and return'd home with the Army in the Month of *November*, 1512.

The King of *Navarre* dispossest of his Dominions by the *Spanish* and *French*.

The *English* return without entering upon Action.

Still the War continu'd in *Italy*, where the Arms of King *Lewis* were so successful, and the Pope reduc'd to such a low Condition, that, according to the *French* Writers, nothing but their King's unseasonable Moderation cou'd have prevented his making an entire Conquest of *Italy*. But the *Swiss* coming into the Holy League, and

and the Emperor abandoning the *French* Interest, *Lewis* was driven over the *Alps* again, and oblig'd to quit all the Conquests he had made in that Country.

A.D. 1512

A. 4 Hen 8

The *French*  
driven out  
of *Italy*.

In the mean time the King of *England* enter'd into a fresh Confederacy with the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, Governess of the *Netherlands*, against *France*, which the Allies again propos'd to invade from several Quarters; and *Henry* having assembled his Parliament on the fourth of *November*, demanded Supplies to enable him to carry on the War with Vigour, declaring that he intended to command his Army in Person; whereupon they granted him two Fifteenths and four Demies, together with a Poll-Tax, whereby every Duke was to pay ten Marks, an Earl five Pounds, a Baron four Pounds, a Knight four Marks, every Man worth eight hundred Pounds in Goods four Marks, and so after that Rate down to those who had forty Shillings *per Annum* Wages, who paid twelve Pence a Head, and every other Person of fifteen Years of Age paid four Pence.

The Parlia-  
ment give  
Supplies for  
the *French*  
War.  
A Poll Tax.

An Act also pass'd in the same Sessions, empowering the Justices of Peace in the Maritime Counties to fortify the Coasts liable to be insulted by the *French*, and to compel the Inhabitants of such Counties to assist in putting such Works in a Condition to resist the Enemy.

The  
Justices of  
Peace forti-  
fy the  
Coasts.

The King of *Scotland* no sooner heard of the great Preparations that were making in *England* against *France* but he rais'd an Army and equipp'd a Fleet, in order to make a Diversion in Favour of the *French*, whenever King *Henry* shou'd invade that Kingdom; whereupon an Embassy was sent to *Scotland* to enquire

The Scots  
raise an Ar-  
my in Fa-  
vour of the  
*French*.



*A.D.* 1512 enquire into the Reason of that Armament. *James* protested he intended to observe an exact Neutrality between the two Nations: But the Ambassadors before their return understood, that *France* and *Scotland* had just before enter'd into an Alliance for their mutual Defence. Whereupon *Henry* sent an Army under the Command of the Earl of *Surrey* into the North of *England*, to watch the Motions of the *Scots* during his Absence in *France*.

Pope *Julius*  
II. dies.

The following Year, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *February*, died the warlike Pope *Julius* II. who is said to have equall'd *Julius Cæsar* in his Ambition, and to have taken that Name upon him with a View of imitating that Hero in his Conquests: He was succeeded by Cardinal *John de Medicis*, who took upon him the Name of *Leo* X. a Person who exceeded his Predecessor in Politicks, but had much less Pride and Passion in his Constitution. After the Death of *Julius*, the new Pope and the Allies of the Church went on with their Preparations against *France*: His Holiness engag'd to attack *France* on the Side of *Dauphine* or *Provence*; the Emperor from *Burgundy*, the King of *Spain* in *Guienne* or *Bearn*, and the King of *England* in *Normandy* or *Picardy*, and *Henry* agreed to pay the Emperor an hundred thousand Crowns towards his Charges. But *Ferdinand* was so far from ratifying this Treaty, which his Ambassadors had sign'd, that it appears he concluded a Truce with the *French* King for a Year at this very time, and even engag'd that his Son-in-law the King of *England* shou'd come into it; but *Henry* had been too often impos'd on by *Ferdinand* to be influenc'd by him on this Occasion. On the contrary;

The new  
Pope *Leo* X.  
follows the  
same  
Schemes.  
A new Al-  
liance  
against  
*France*.

contrary, he continu'd his Preparations to invade *France* with the utmost Diligence.

In the mean time *Lewis* having sign'd a Truce with *Spain*; and believing that *England* wou'd have come into it, enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Venetians*; and once more passing the *Alps*, made himself Master of *Genoa* and most Part of *Milan*; but the *Switzers* assembling a great Army, fell upon *La Tremoville*, the *French* General, while he was besieging *Novara*, routed his Army, and compell'd the *French* to abandon *Italy* within the Space of a Month after they enter'd it.

A.D. 1513  
A. 5 Hen. 8

The French reduce *Genoa* and the *Milanese*, and lose them again.

While the Flower of the *French* King's Troops were thus engag'd in the *Italian* War, the Opportunity was look'd upon as extremely favourable for the *English* to make a Descent in *France*. But, lest the *French* Fleet shou'd intercept the Transportation of the Army, the Ministry thought fit to equip a strong Squadron, to drive the Enemy out of the Channel. The *French* hearing Sir *Edward Howard* the *English* Admiral was put to Sea, retir'd to *Brest*, waiting for a Reinforcement of Gallies, which were expected from *Marseilles*. The *English* Admiral thereupon determin'd to attack the *French* Squadron in the Harbour of *Brest*; but receiving Advice that the Gallies from *Marseilles* were in *Conquet-Bay*, he wav'd his Design of attacking the Ships at *Brest*, and resolv'd to attempt the Gallies at *Conquet*, tho' they were drawn up close to the Shore, and defended by Batteries of Great Guns. The *English* had but two Gallies and some small Vessels which cou'd come near the *French*, the rest of the Fleet drawing too much Water, was oblig'd to keep at a Distance. Ad-

*A.D.* 1513 *miral Howard* however went on board one of the *English* Gallies, and gave the Command of the other to the Lord *Ferrers*, and with these and his Boats he attack'd the *French* Gallies, and entring *Pregent's* Galley, who commanded the Squadron, with eighteen or twenty Men Sword in hand, he order'd it to be grappled and fastened to his own, expecting to be seconded by the rest of his Men ; but by some Accident or other the Admiral's Galley fell off, and himself and his Followers, who had boarded *Pregent*, were left on board the *French*, and cut in Pieces, or thrown into the Sea, only one Man surviv'd to give an Account of the Admiral's Misfortune ; whereupon the *English* Fleet, having lost their Commander, thought fit to return home, and were follow'd by the *French*, who landed some Troops in *Sussex*, and alarm'd the Coast, but were soon oblig'd to retire by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Brother of the deceas'd, whom the King constituted Admiral in his Room ; nor did the *French* afterwards pretend to keep the Sea, but left the Passage open for the King's Troops ; whereupon a Body of 8000 Men, under the Command of *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Lord Steward of the Household, were transported to *Calais* about the Middle of *May*, and another Body, consisting of 6000 Men, commanded by the Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain, follow'd them a Fortnight afterwards ; and on the 22d. of *June* these two Generals laid siege to the Town of *Terouen*.

Troops  
embark'd  
for *Calais*.

*Terouen*  
besieg'd.

The King  
lands at  
*Calais*.

The King, having constituted the Queen Regent of the Kingdom, embark'd the 30th. of *June* with the Remainder of his Army, and landed at *Calais* the same Day, being attended



tended by his Almoner Dr. *Wolfey*, who now posses'd the Post of Prime Minister, and had taken upon him to see the Army supplied with all Provisions and Necessaries during this Campaign. *Charles Brandon*, lately created Viscount *Lisle*, another Favourite, also attended his Highness, and commanded the Van Guard of the Army. The King was extremely fond of this Nobleman on Account of his personal Valour, and generally chose him for his Second at Jufts and Tournaments, and such rough Encounters, in which the King himself was accounted very expert: But as *Brandon* chiefly signaliz'd himself in such Exercises and in the Army, and did not much concern himself with the Affairs of the Cabinet, *Wolfey* and he scarce ever interfer'd, but rather promoted and advanc'd each other's Interest with the King.

But I shou'd have remember'd, that before the King left *England* he order'd the Earl of *Suffolk's* Head to be struck off, who was Prisoner in the Tower, tho' his Father, *Henry* the 7th, at the Instance of the King of *Castile*, pardon'd him as to his Life, when that Prince deliver'd the Earl into his Hands. The Reason of this Execution my Lord *Herbert* and other Historians suggest, was an Apprehension *Henry* had, that if he should die in *France*, the People wou'd set up the Earl for their King, who was the next *Male Heir* living of the House of *York*; in which it was not improbable, they might have been assisted by the *French*; for *Richard de la Pole*, the Earl's younger Brother, had the Command of six thousand Men in the *French* Army at that Time. The King having continu'd about a Month at *Calais*, and receiving Intelligence

The Earl of  
*Suffolk* be-  
headed.

A.D. 1513 that the *French* Army under the Command of Duke *Longueville* design'd to attempt the Relief of *Terouen*, he march'd with nine thousand Men and two or three thousand Pioneers, to reinforce the Besiegers, and arriv'd before the Place the second of *August*. Here the Emperor *Maximilian* came to him, attended only

*Maximilian* the Emperor takes Pay of the King of *England*.

by his ordinary Guard, instead of the Troops he was to have rais'd with the Money the King of *England* had advanc'd for that Purpose: However, to make the young King some Satisfaction, or rather to sooth his Vanity, he offer'd to serve in the Army under him, and actually accepted an hundred Crowns a day for his Pay.

In the mean time the *French* advancing to relieve *Terouen*, the King, attended by his Imperial Voluntier, pass'd the *Lys*, and engag'd the Duke of *Longueville*, whose Troops being struck with a panick Fear, fled at the first Charge; and their Generals, who endeavour'd to rally them, were made Prisoners; particularly the Duke of *Longueville*, *Bussy de Amboise*, *La Fayette*, *Bayard*, and several other Noblemen; and because the *French* made more Use of their Spurs than their Swords in this Encounter, it was generally call'd *The Battel of Spurs*. While the two Armies were engag'd, a Detachment of the *French* attempted to throw some Provisions into the Town, but were repuls'd by the Lord *Herbert*, who had the Command of the Trenches; and the Garrison now despairing of Relief, surrender'd on the twenty second of *August*.

*Terouen* surrenders.

The Town was a Place of Strength, and lay not far from *Calais*, on which Account it was expected the *English* wou'd have kept it;

it; but the Emperor considering it lay upon the Frontiers of his Grandson's, the Prince of *Castille's* Dominions, and might be a Thorn in his Side, whether in the Hands of the *English* or the *French*, prevail'd on King *Henry* to demolish the Fortifications, for which *Henry* has been very much censur'd; but if it be consider'd, that he was now engag'd in the Conquest of *France*, or at least in recovering the Provinces that had been dismember'd from *England*, and that without the Assistance of the Emperor and the Prince of *Castille* his Grandson, the *English* cou'd never hope to succeed in that Enterprize, this Complaisance for the Emperor is not much to be wonder'd at, tho' I am conscious some Writers ascribe the razing the Fortifications of *Terouen* purely to the Influence of *Wolsey*, who was now making his Court to the Emperor.

The Fortifications demolish'd.

After the taking of *Terouen*, the *English* invested the City of *Tournay*, but in their March thither the Emperor left the Army in some Disgust, which some have suggested, was occasion'd by *Henry's* denying to deliver it into his Hands when it shou'd be taken; however, the Emperor was too wise not to be reconcil'd as soon as he had a Prospect of tricking the King of *England* out of another Sum of Money.

*Tournay* besieg'd.

In the mean time the Trenches were open'd before *Tournay* on the fifteenth of *September*, and the Town surrender'd within Eight Days. By the Capitulation the Inhabitants were allow'd to enjoy their antient Privileges, on condition of paying the Sum of 50000 Crowns down, and the annual Sum of 4000 Livres for ten Years afterwards to the King of *England*.

The City of *Tournay* taken.

While



A.D. 1513

A. 5 Hen. 8

The Scottish  
War.The King  
of Scots de-  
clares War  
against  
England.

While *Henry* was in *France*, the King of *Scotland* sent an Herald to him with a Declaration of War, on account of some petty Injuries he pretended his Subjects had receiv'd, among which the Affair of *Breton* was again brought upon the Carpet: However, he gave the King of *England* to understand, that if he wou'd withdraw his Forces out of *France* he wou'd still maintain the Peace that had been concluded between the two Nations.

To which *Henry* answer'd, That the King of *Scots* Breach of Faith was no more than he expected, his Ancestors having on the like Occasions behav'd themselves in the same Manner; that while he was in *England*, *James* had never express'd any Dissatisfaction, but now took the Advantage of his Absence to execute his Designs; and as the King had foreseen his Intentions, he had provided for the Defence of the Kingdom, and did not doubt to defeat the Attempts of those Schismatics (the *Scots*) who stood excommunicated by the Pope and the Council of *Lateran*: As for the Injuries *James* pretended to have receiv'd, a sufficient Answer had been given to those Complaints already, nor shou'd he desist from prosecuting the War with *France* at the Instance of the King of *Scots*. If that Prince committed any Hostilities in *England*, he did not question by the Help of God and of *St. George* to chastize his Insolence.

The Scots  
enter Eng-  
land.

But King *James*, without waiting for an Answer to the Message he had sent *Henry* by his Herald, enter'd the Borders of *England* with an Army of sixty thousand Men and upwards, and took *Warham* Castle, whereupon the Earl of *Surrey* assembled his Forces, amounting to six and twenty thousand Men,  
and

and march'd towards the Borders to oppose the *Scots*, and he was soon after reinforced by his Son the Admiral, with some Troops he brought by Sea ; whereupon King *James* entrench'd himself on the Hill of *Flodden*, which lies near the Foot of the *Cheviot* Mountains, that part the two Kingdoms.

A.D. 1513

A. 5 Hen. 8

The *English* General finding he must engage the *Scots* to great Disadvantage if he attack'd them in this fortify'd Camp, sent a Herald to King *James*, charging him with breaking the Peace, and offering him Battel in any indifferent Ground; to which the *Scotish* King answer'd, He readily accepted the Challenge, and if he had been at *Edinburgh* he wou'd have come from thence to meet him ; but the *Scotish* Generals however dissuaded their King from abandoning the advantageous Post he was in. Whereupon the Earl of *Surrey* possess'd himself of some Passes, whereby he intercepted all Provisions coming to the *Scotish* Army ; and this obliging them to decamp, a Battel ensu'd, and the *Scots* were entirely defeated, the King himself with ten thousand Men being kill'd upon the Spot : Nor did the *English* lose less than five thousand, the *Scots* defending themselves with great Bravery.

The Battel of Flodden.

The King of Scots kill'd.

The King of *England* receiv'd Advice of the Victory over the *Scots* at *Flodden*, on the very Day that *Tournay* surrender'd. And now the Campaign being at an end, as well in *France* as *England*, it was debated whither *Tournay* should be kept or demolish'd ; some alledg'd it was at too great a Distance from *Calais* and from the Sea Coasts to be maintain'd against the Power of *France*, without putting the Nation to more Charge than the Town was worth ; while others look'd upon the

*A.D.* 1513 the Possession of it to be of the last Consequence, if the War continu'd ; and it was at length resolv'd to leave a strong Garrison in it, under the Command of the celebrated Sir *Edward Poynings*. And as the King had a Prospect of prosecuting the War the next Year, in confederacy with the Emperor and the *Flemmings*, it had surely been the most impolitic thing in the World to have abandon'd *Tournay*, one of the strongest and wealthiest Cities on the Frontiers of *France* ; it must have been of great Service to the *English*, as a Place of Arms, in another Campaign, tho' our Historians generally censure the keeping of it, as a very extravagant thing, and ascribe the Advice solely to *Wolsey*, who had a view, they intimate, towards that Bishoprick. But to proceed.

The King of *England* having made his triumphant Entry into *Tournay*, attended by the Emperor, on the 24th of *September* ; the Dutcheß Dowager of *Savoy*, Governor of the *Netherlands*, and her Nephew, the Archduke came thither the next Day, to congratulate him on his Success. They were magnificently entertain'd here by the King of *England* for a Fortnight ; during which time a Treaty was set on Foot by the Ministers of the respective Powers, and King *Henry* going to *Lisle* some Days after, to repay the Dutcheß of *Savoy* and the Archduke their Visit, the Treaty was concluded and sign'd there, on the 17th of *October*, by which the Emperor stipulated, to provide a Body of four thousand Horse and six thousand Foot in *Artois*, during the Winter, for the Security of the District of *Tournay* and the Archduke's Territories, and *Henry* promis'd to pay the Emperor

An Alliance between the Emperor, the King, and the Archduke.



peror two hundred thousand Crowns for the Maintenance of those Troops. *Henry* stipulated also, that before the first of *June* the Year following, he would renew the War against *France*, either in *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and the Emperor engag'd to invade some other Province of that Kingdom. It was agreed also, that before the 15th of *May*, all Parties should meet at *Calais*, to solemnize the Marriage between the Archduke and the Princess *Mary*, which had been agreed on between the Emperor and the late King *Henry VII.* Soon after the signing of this Treaty, *Henry* return'd to *England*, and arriv'd at his Palace of *Richmond* on the 24th of *October*, after a Campaign in which he had gain'd abundance of Honour, but at an infinite Expence, as some Historians observe; for he was abandon'd by every one of his Allies, and left alone to sustain the Burthen of the War. But this is no more than we have constantly experienc'd in almost every War, in which we have enter'd into an Alliance with the *Dutch* or *Germans*, unless in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was so wise as to trust the *Dutch* neither with Troops or Money, without their delivering cautionary Towns into her Hands, to repay the Charges.

-And here *Rapin* observing the Treachery and Baseness of the Allies of *England*, in not executing any one part of the Treaty, takes Occasion also to reflect on King *Henry's* Weakness, in being made the Dupe or Bubble of all the Princes of *Europe*. But if every Prince is to be esteem'd weak and impolitick, who is deceiv'd and over-reach'd by crafty faithless

*Rapin's*  
Remarks  
examin'd.

*A.D. 1513* Allies, this Censure may be applied to the greatest Monarchs that ever reign'd. It is impossible always to guard against a Knave, even if we were endow'd with the Wisdom of the Sage *Rapin*, who assumes a Liberty of judging and determining the Springs and Motives of every Transaction in the Courts of *Europe* for near two thousand Years. Nor does he only laugh at *Henry VIII.* for being deceiv'd in his Allies, but declares him guilty of the most egregious Folly, in attacking *France* at all while that King was engag'd in the Conquest of *Italy*. But surely the *French* King's Territories were already too extensive, neither the King of *England*, or the rest of the Powers of *Europe*, could with any good Policy sit still, and see him add so fine a Country to his Dominions as *Italy*, or which is much the same thing, suffer him to gain so much of it, as to influence the Pope, and the rest of the *Italian* Princes; especially if we consider that at that time of Day, whoever had the Pope in his Power, carried a great Stroke in the Affairs of *Europe*. It may be presum'd therefore, that King *Henry* was not at all in the wrong, in endeavouring to prevent the *French* King's fixing himself in *Italy*, notwithstanding the celebrated *Rapin* has been pleas'd to pronounce that he had nothing to do to concern himself in that War; which seems to proceed purely from *Rapin's* Concern to see his Countrymen oblig'd to quit *Italy* by the Diversion the *English* gave them on this side.

The Success of the Imperialists and Swiss against the French. Nor were the Allies of *England* so very bad at this time as *Rapin* represents them; for while *Henry* was making Conquests in *Picardy*, we find the Pope prevail'd on the *Switzers*.

to join the Emperor's Forces, and attack the *French* General *Tremoville*, on the side of *Burgundy*, where they gain'd such Advantages of him, that they compell'd him, in his Master's Name, to renounce all Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and promise to pay them four hundred thousand Crowns; twenty thousand whereof were actually paid down, and tho' the *French* King refus'd afterwards to perform the rest of that Treaty, yet finding himself so vigourously press'd on all hands, it oblig'd him to give over his Designs in *Italy*, and made him think in earnest of giving *England*, and all his Neighbours, Satisfaction in their Demands, as will appear in the Transactions of the following Year. But to return to *England*.

The King of *Scots* having been kill'd at the Battel of *Flodden*, his Body was taken and embalm'd by the *English*, and sent up to *London*; whereupon King *Henry* applied himself to the Pope for a Dispensation to bury it in *St. Paul's Cathedral* (for the King of *Scots* standing excommunicated on his breaking the Peace with *England*, could not have Christian Burial, it seems, without a License from his Holiness.) The Pope hereupon sent the King of *England* a Brief, wherein he recites, that the King of *Scotland* having submitted himself to the Sentence of Excommunication, in case he committed any Hostilities against *England*, and had afterwards broken the Peace, and been pronounc'd Excommunicated by the Cardinal Archbishop of *York*, and was kill'd unabsolv'd in the Battel of *Flodden*; yet, considering his Dignity and near relation to the King of *England*, who had desir'd he might be interr'd in consecrated

A.D. 1513

A. 5 Hen. 8

A Brief for  
burying the  
K. of Scots.



*A.D.* 1513 *secrated Ground; and that he understood*  
*A. 5H. 8* *James* had shewn some Signs of Contrition  
 at the time of his Death; his Holiness there-  
 fore granted *Henry's* Request, and appointed  
 the Bishop of *London*, or any other Bishop  
 the King of *England* should chuse, to enquire  
 into the Case, and absolve King *James*, if  
 they found he had shewn any Signs of Re-  
 pentance, provided such Absolution extend  
 no further than to the permitting him to be  
 buried in holy Ground. And the King of  
*England* perform'd some slight Penance, in the  
 Name of the deceas'd King. And in pur-  
 suance of this Brief, the King of *Scots* was  
 afterwards buried at *St. Paul's*; tho' the  
*Scots* still maintain that this was not the Body  
 of their King, but of one *Elphinston* who  
 was very like him; for they say, that before  
 the Battel the King caus'd five Men of the  
 same Size to be arm'd and accoutred as he  
 was, which occasion'd the *English* to mistake  
*Elphinston* for the King. But as the *Scots*  
 could never tell what became of their King's  
 Corps, if this was not it, it still remains very  
 probable that the *English* were not mistaken;  
 especially if we consider, that tho' the Ar-  
 mour and outward Dress of *Elphinston* might  
 resemble that of the King's, yet there were  
 probably some Rings, Jewels, or other Or-  
 naments found about the King's Corps, which  
 those who were to personate him could not be  
 suppos'd to have, and which might render  
 the *English* pretty sure they were not out in  
 their Conjecture.

*A.D.* 1514 The Parliament of *England* meeting on  
 the 3d of *January*, 1514, a Law was made,  
*A. 6Hen. 8* in relation to the recovery of Debts in the  
 King's late Conquests in *France*; an Act of  
 Statutes pass'd. Pardon

Pardon also pass'd for such Persons as would sue for it, on certain Conditions, and some Statutes were made for regulating the Wool-  
len-Manufactures; and at the rising of the Parliament were several Creations and Pro-  
motions of the Nobility; the Earl of *Surry* was created Duke of *Norfolk*, which Title his Father held till he was kill'd at the Battel of *Bosworth* in King *Richard's* Quarrel; *Thomas Howard*, eldest Son of the present Duke, had his Father's Title of Earl of *Surry* conferr'd on him; *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Lisle*, was made Duke of *Suffolk*; *Charles Somersjet* was created Earl of *Worcester*; and *Margaret*, Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward IV.* obtain'd the Title of Countess of *Salisbury*, as Heir to her Grandfather, *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, whose Castles, Manors, and Lands were also granted to her; and lastly, Dr. *Wolsey*, the King's Almoner and Prime Minister, on the Vacancy of the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, was made Bishop of that See; he had also the Administration of the Bishoprick of *Tournay* conferr'd on him by the Pope, the Bishop of that Diocese, Dr. *Guillard*, absenting himself, and refusing to obey the King of *England* as Sovereign of that City; and as the Pope made a Friend of *Wolsey* by these Grants, so he ingratiated himself with his Master, by sending him a consecrated Sword and Hat, the usual Presents from the Holy-See to great Princes, on their Successes against the Enemies of the Church.

Creations  
of the No-  
bility.

*Wolsey*  
made Bi-  
shop of  
*Lincoln*, and  
Admini-  
strator of  
*Tournay*.

The Pope  
sends the  
King a Hat  
and Sword.

The *French* King observing how dangerous an Enemy the King of *England* was, that he had defeated his Army, and made himself Master of two considerable Towns the last Campaign,

*A.D.* 1514 Campaign, and in Conjunction with his Allies, might carry on his Conquests much further, made *Henry* some Proposals of Peace this Winter, and to induce him to listen to them, offer'd to marry his Sister the Princess *Mary*. The King at first insisted on the Restoration of the *English* Provinces in *France*; but at length considering how little his Allies were to be depended on; that they made no manner of Preparations to continue the War; and that it must impoverish his People to carry it on at their Expence alone; he agreed, that if the King of *France* would pay him a million of Crowns, in Consideration of his waving his Right to the *English* Territories in *France* at this time; he would order his Ministers to treat with those of *France*. Accordingly a Negotiation was set on Foot, and a Peace concluded at *London* on the seventh of *August*; the principal Articles whereof were, that the Peace between the two Kingdoms should continue till the Death of one of the Parties, and the Successor of the Prince who died first, should declare to the Survivor, within the Space of a Year afterwards, whether he would prolong the Treaty or make a new one; that all Duties upon Merchandizes imported into either Kingdom from the other, within fifty Years, should be taken off; and that they should mutually assist each other in the Defence of their Dominions, the respective Quota's of Troops and Shipping being adjusted for that end. The King of *England* included the Pope, the Archduke of *Austria*, and the *Swiss* in this Treaty as his Allies; and the *French* King also nam'd the Pope, the *Swiss*, and the King of *Scotland*.

*A.D.* 1514*A.* 6 *Hen.* 8Peace de-  
fir'd by  
*France*.Articles of  
Peace be-  
tween  
*France* and  
*England*.



As to the *French* King's Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, it was agreed that it shou'd be perform'd in Words of present time within ten Days after the Date of the Treaty ; that she shou'd be convey'd to *Abbeville* at the Charges of *Henry*, and that *Lewis* shou'd solemnize his Marriage with her in Person within four Days after her Arrival ; that she shou'd have four hundred thousand Crowns for her Portion, one half whereof to be in Jewels for her Dress, which were to be return'd if she surviv'd the King her Husband. That the other two hundred thousand Crowns shou'd be deducted out of the Million the *French* King was to pay the King of *England* ; that her Joyn-ture shou'd be equal to that of *Anne* of *Bre-tagne*, the late Queen of *France* ; and that she shou'd enjoy it after the King's Death, whether she resided in *France* or *England*.

In the Million of Crowns which were to be paid by *Lewis* to *Henry* were to be included the Arrears of the 745,000 Crowns which *Charles* VIII. had agreed to pay the late King *Henr* VII. and his Successors, Kings of *Eng-land*, and another Sum, which *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, Father of *Lewis* had oblig'd himself to pay to *Margaret* Countess of *Rich-mond*, Grandmother of *Henry* VIII.

A little before the Treaty was sign'd, the Princess *Mary* solemnly renounc'd her Espou-sals with *Charles* Prince of *Castile* and Arch-duke of *Austria*, for which she assign'd several Reasons ; first, that she had been aw'd and forc'd into that Contract ; 2. that the Arch-duke had neglected to espouse her in Words of present time, when she arriv'd at the Age of fourteen, as he had promis'd ; and lastly, she had

The Princess *Mary* re-nounces her Mar-riage with the Prince of *Castile*.

A.D. 1514  
A. 5 Hen. 8  
Of Mar-riage be-tween *Lew-is* XII. and the Princess *Mary*.

*A.D.* 1514 had good Grounds to believe he never intended to fulfil that Contract.

*A. 6 Hen. 8*

*Wolsey*  
made Arch-  
bishop of  
*York*

While these Treaties were negotiating, Cardinal *Bambridge* Archbishop of *York* died at *Rome*; whereupon, at the Recommendation of King *Henry*, the Pope gave that Archbishoprick to *Wolsey*.

The  
Princess is  
married to  
*Lewis XII.*

The Marriage between the *French* King and the Princess *Mary* having been first perform'd by Proxy, she was conducted to *Dover* by the King and Queen, and there committed to the Care of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who attended on her to *France*, and the *French* King meeting her at *Abbeville*, the Wedding was solemniz'd with great Splendour on the ninth Day of *October*, a Day sacred to *St. Dennis* the Patron of *France*. For several Days after the Wedding there were Juſts and Tournaments at the *French* Court, where *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Marquis of *Dorset* acquir'd Abundance of Honour by their Dexterity in thoſe rough Encounters. But notwithstanding the publick Entertainments and Rejoycings that were made on this Occaſion, it appears that the young Queen was much diſſatisfy'd at the Uſage ſhe met with in *France*; for in a Letter to *Wolsey* ſhe acquainted him, that the very Day after her Marriage all her Servants, \* Men and Women, had been diſcharg'd, and that they wou'd not ſuffer even the Lady *Guildford* to be with her, whom the King and the Biſhop had directed her to be advis'd by in her Concerns: She complains that the Duke of *Nor-*

She com-  
plains of ill  
Uſage.  
Her Ser-  
vants diſ-  
miſſ'd.

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\* Among them were Mrs. Anne Bolein, afterwards married to King Henry VIII.

folk had not dealt well with her, because he discover'd too great Facility in complying with the *French* Court, and in granting every thing they demanded. In Conclusion, to shew the great Regard which the Queen had for *Wolsey*, she wishes, that instead of the Duke of *Norfolk* he had been charg'd to attend her into *France*. She writes to the King upon the same Subject of her ill Treatment in having her Servants remov'd; and tho' King *Lewis*, upon her Instance, was requested by the Court of *England*, that the Lady *Guildford* might again be received into her Service, yet he refus'd to grant this Request, alledging, that neither he nor his Wife needed any that shou'd guide them, and that her Ladyship took upon her to rule the Queen.

A.D. 1514

A. 6 Hen. 8



In the mean time it appears that the *English* after their Victory at *Flodden* did not pursue the *Scots* into their own Country, the late King *James* IV. having appointed his Queen, the King of *England*'s Sister, Regent of *Scotland* during her Widowhood and the Minority of his Son *James* V. (for he left two Sons, the eldest of which was not above two Years of Age) But the Queen soon after marrying *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hume* Governor of *North-Scotland*, and most of the *Scotish* Nobility, insisted that the Queen had forfeited the Regency, which upon her Marriage ought to devolve on the next Heir to the Crown, the Lord *John Stewart*, Duke of *Albany*, who was the Son of *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother to *James* III. and then in the *French* Court. However, *Douglas* was not wanting in his Endeavours to get the Regency confirm'd to his Consort the Queen. He represented that it wou'd be im-

Divisions  
in *Scotland*  
about the  
Regency  
on the  
Queen's  
marrying  
*Douglas*.



A.D. 1514

A. 6 Hen. 8

The Scots  
invite the  
Earl of  
Albany to  
take the  
Regency  
upon him.

possible to preserve the Peace with *England* by any other means ; for King *Henry* wou'd certainly support his Sister against any Person that shou'd pretend to deprive her of the Regency. Notwithstanding which, the *Scots* sent a Deputation to the Lord *Stewart* at *Paris*, inviting him to return to *Scotland* and take the Regency upon him ; but that Lord being prevented coming over till the following Year, the *Scots* in the mean time remain'd in the utmost Distraction.

A.D. 1515

A. 7 Hen. 8

Lewis XII  
dies.

*Lewis* XII. dying on the first Day of the following Year, *January*, 1514-15, King *Henry* sent a Letter of Condolance to the Queen his Sister, in which he desir'd to be inform'd whether she had any Thoughts of returning to *England*, and caution'd her against entertaining any Proposals of Marriage without first advising with him. *Wolsey* also wrote to her to the same Purpose. Among those who were deputed by the King to carry his Letters of Condolance to the Queen of *France* his Sister, was the Duke of *Suffolk*, who had not been long at the *French* Court before he found Encouragement to make his Addresses to the Queen Dowager ; nor did he make any Secret of it to *Wolsey*, for he wrote to him on the 3d of *February* in the following Manner (*viz.*) ‘ The Day that the *French* King gave us Audience, his Grace call'd me into his Bedchamber, and said, “ My Lord of *Suffolk*, it is here bruited that you are come over to marry the Queen of *France*, your Master's Sister, ” ‘ I excus'd myself and denied it ; he said then, “ I will be plain with you, ” ‘ and shew'd me the Queen herself had broken the Matter to him, and desir'd his Assistance therein, ‘ which

The Duke  
of *Suffolk*  
courts the  
Queen  
Dowager.  
His Letter  
to *Wolsey*.

' which he had promis'd her by the Truth of *A.D. 1515*  
 ' a King, and renew'd the same Promise to  
 ' me. I was convinc'd, and I could not but *A. 6 Hen. 8*  
 ' thank his Grace, yet told him I was like to  
 ' be undone if this Matter shou'd come to the  
 ' Knowledge of my Master: And then he  
 ' said. " Let me alone, for I and the Queen  
 ' shall so instance your Master, that he shall  
 ' be content.

' Of this (continues the Duke) I do adver-  
 ' tise you, my Lord of *York*, because I intend  
 ' to hide nothing from you, and I desire your  
 ' speedy Advice; and if you shall think good  
 ' to advertise the King of this Letter. My  
 ' Lord, I thank God, that who I fear'd most  
 ' is contented to be the Author of this Act  
 ' himself, and to instance the King my Ma-  
 ' ster for me, whereby his Grace shall be  
 ' marvelously discharg'd, as well against his  
 ' Council as the other Nobles of his Realm.

The Duke of *Suffolk* also wrote to the King  
 himself on the 18th of *February* upon this  
 Subject, who in Regard to his Royal Dignity  
 seem'd to oppose the Design, but secretly  
 was determin'd to favour it, and now con-  
 sents that the *French* King shou'd be intreated  
 to write for the said Duke and Queen, which  
 Request of his King *Henry* pretended to grant  
 only to oblige the said *French* King, and dis-  
 charge himself towards his own Council.

In a Letter from the Queen to her Brother  
 of *England* she reminds him of his Promise  
 when she took Leave of him, and tells him,  
 ' Your Grace knoweth well that what I did  
 ' at this time was for your Pleasure, and now  
 ' I trust that you will suffer me to do what I  
 ' list, for if you wou'd have me married in any  
 ' Place saving where my Mind is, I will be  
 I i i 2 ' there

A.D. 1515

A. 6 Hen. 8



The Queen  
resolves to  
marry  
Charles  
Brandon  
Duke of  
Suffolk.

‘ there where your Grace nor any other shall  
‘ have Joy of me, for I promise your Grace  
‘ that you shall hear that I will be in some  
‘ religious House. ’ And it is evident from  
the whole Conduct of the King in this Affair,  
that it was more to preserve Appearances of  
State, and to satisfy his Council, that he did  
not at first countenance the Marriage, than  
out of an Aversion to it. But however that  
was, the Queen resolv’d to run no Hazards of  
losing the Man she lik’d, tho’ her Dignity and  
even Common Decency prohibited her enter-  
taining a Gallant so suddenly; she determin’d  
to have him, and put it out of the Power of  
her Friends or Enemies to disappoint her, and  
accordingly was married privately to the Duke  
in *March*, within less than three Months after  
the Death of *Lewis*; whereupon she wrote a-  
gain to the King her Brother, to excuse her  
disposing of herself so hastily, wherein she  
takes the Fault wholly upon herself, and  
justifies the Duke of *Suffolk*, declaring  
she had assign’d him but four Days to finish  
his Courtship. The principal Reason *Francis*  
the *French* King promoted the Queen’s Mar-  
riage with a Subject of *England* is suppos’d to  
be to prevent her espousing some foreign  
Prince, who might be in a different Interest,  
and *Wolsey* readily came into it; apprehend-  
ing that this Piece of Complaisance wou’d  
make the Dowager Queen, and her Consort  
the Duke his fast Friends, and by the Accession  
of such an Interest he shou’d be able to sup-  
port himself in the Administration against the  
Attempts of his Adversaries. Having pre-  
vail’d on the King therefore to declare himself  
reconcil’d to the Queen his Sister and the Duke,  
they return’d to *England* the 12th of *May*,  
and

The Queen  
and Duke  
return to  
*England*.



and the Marriage was solemniz'd again publicly at *Greenwich* the next Day. The Queen, as had been stipulated by the Marriage-Articles, brought with her Jewels, Plate, and Furniture, to the Value of 200,000*l.* and a great deal more which belong'd to King *Lewis* her late Husband, as the *French* afterwards asserted; but the *English* Ministry, I find, insisted that a great many of the Jewels she carried over were detain'd in *France*, which created a Misunderstanding between the two Courts. Our Writers also observe, that the Queen left Mrs. *Anne Bolein*, then one of her Maids, but afterwards Queen of *England*, behind her in the *French* Court.

A.D. 1515

A.7 Hen.8.

Mrs. *Bolein* left in *France*.

The Parliament about the same time pass'd a remarkable Act to prevent the Members of the Commons absenting themselves from the House at the latter End of a Session, it being observ'd that at such times designing Men usually brought in Bills of dangerous Consequence, which wou'd not pass in a full House. Whereupon it was enacted, that the Absenters shou'd lose their Wages, which in this Reign were four Shillings a Day for a Knight of the Shire, and two Shillings for a Burgeiss; nor do I find that the Acts for levying such Wages were ever repeal'd, tho' they have not been paid of late Years, on account of the Passion Gentle-  
men have shewn to get into the House, who are so far from demanding the Wages due to them for this Service, that a thousand Pounds are thought very well laid out to obtain a Seat in Parliament; and there have been Instances where Members have spent seven or eight thousand Pounds a-piece to get themselves return'd; which Practice, as it has ruin'd abundance of private Families, so has it

An Act to prevent the Members of the Commons absenting themselves.

Why Wages are not still paid to the Members.

*A.D.* 1515 it made an inconceivable Alteration in our Constitution, Members being oftner chosen by the Strength of their own or the National Purse, than for their Merit or Affection to their Country. The Statutes for paying the Members their Wages, are, 12 *Ri.* II. *Cap.* 12. 23 *Hen.* VI. *Cap.* 11. 6 *Hen.* VIII. *Cap.* 16. 35 *Hen.* VIII. *Cap.* 11. These Wages were assess'd by the Sheriffs in their County Courts, on every Hundred, &c. by Virtue of the King's Writs. The Members were allow'd their Charges in going and returning to and from the House, besides their Wages for Attendance. The rest of the Acts of this Session will be found at the end of the Reign.

The  
Treaty  
with France  
renew'd.

During this Session, *Francis* I. King of *France* applied himself to the King of *England* to renew the Treaty of Alliance between the two Crowns, which was agreed to, and sign'd the 5th of *April*, when that Prince gave *Henry* a fresh Security for the Payment of the Arrears of the million of Crowns, stipulated to be paid to *England* by *Lewis* XII. After which *Francis* made great Preparations for the recovery of the *Milanese* again, which giving the Court of *England* some Apprehensions, King *Henry* concluded an Alliance with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* again. *Ferdinand* also enter'd into a Confederacy with the Pope, the Emperor, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Swiss*, against *France*; but the Confederates leaving it to the *Swiss* to defend the Passes of the *Alps*, and sending no Troops to reinforce them, *Francis* found means to penetrate into *Italy*, and gave the *Swiss* a total Defeat afterwards at *Marignano*; whereupon *Genoa* and *Milan* once again submitted to the French,

The French  
reduce  
*Genoa* and  
*Milan*  
again.

*French*; *Maximillian Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, *A.D. 1515*  
being besieg'd in the Castle of his Capital,  
surrender'd, upon Condition of being allow'd *A. 7 Hen. 8*  
a handsome Pension in *France*; and after-  
wards resided as a private Gentleman in that  
Country.

These Successes of the *French* in *Italy* alarm'd the Court of *England*, which hath ever been jealous of the growing Power of that Monarchy; another thing which still gave great Offence to King *Henry*, as well as to his Minister *Wolsey*, was the *French* King's obliging the Pope to restore *Guillard* to the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, and empowering that Prelate by his Bull to make use of the Secular Arm; which was, in effect, to absolve King *Henry's* Subjects in the District of *Tournay* from their Allegiance, and to arm the neighbouring Powers against him; as the *English* Ambassador at *Rome* represented to his Holiness. But the Pope being in the Power of *Francis* after the Battel of *Marignano*, he durst not revoke it; however, to give the King of *England* some sort of Satisfaction, he referr'd the Examination of the matter to two Cardinals. And *Francis* himself apprehending that *Wolsey* would soon make him sensible of his Resentment, by engaging his Master in the Confederacy against him, that Minister being injur'd in his private Fortunes by the Disposall of the Bishoprick of *Tournay* to another; in order to pacify that Prelate therefore, *Francis* thought fit to procure him a Cardinal's Cap, which of all things in the World *Wolsey* most passionately desir'd, having employ'd Cardinal *Adrian*, Bishop of *Bath*, the Pope's Collector in *England*, to sollicite for that Honour

At which the Court of *England* are alarm'd

The Pope restores the *French* Bishop of *Tournay*.

*Francis* procures *Wolsey* a Cardinal's Cap to pacify him.



*A.D.* 1515 nour some time, (tho' by the way it appears that *Adrian*, and his Deputy *Polydore Virgil*, had betray'd him in that Suit, which occasion'd *Polydore's* being sent to the Tower of London, where he remain'd Prisoner for a Year; and this, 'tis suppos'd, gave *Polydore* that Prejudice to *Wolsey*, that he could not speak of him with any Temper in his History, and should induce us to read his Character of that Minister with great Allowances.) But to return.

*A. 7 Hen. 8*  
 The reason  
 of *Wolsey's*  
 prosecuting  
*Polydore*  
*Virgil*.

He reigns  
 at Court  
 without a  
 Rival.

*Wolsey*, 'tis said, govern'd the Affairs of England without Controul at this time, having found means to dismiss all the rest of the Ministers from Court, who had hitherto enjoy'd any share in the King's Esteem, as the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and even Bishop *Fox*, his Patron. But these things seem to have been much aggravated, for Bishop *Fox* appears by his Letters long after this, to have preserv'd a Friendship for *Wolsey*, and the Duke of *Suffolk* retir'd a little dissatisfy'd, only because he was call'd upon for two thousand Pounds, which the King had lent him to make a Figure in the Court of *France*, when he married the Queen, whose Joynture being sixty thousand Crowns a Year, that Nobleman had but little Reason to be disgusted on that score. As to the Duke of *Norfolk* indeed, he was always in an opposite Interest, and it is no wonder therefore if *Wolsey* desir'd his absence; however, on the Emperor's proposing a Confederacy against *France*, we find these very Ministers sent for, and their Advice demanded, which seems a little unaccountable, if they were so much out of Favour as is represented, and the Cardinal alone govern'd the King's Councils.

In the Debates on the Expediency of commencing a War with *France*, our Historians suggest, that *Wolsey* was govern'd more by his own private Interests, and Resentment against the *French* King, than by his Views to the Publick Good; and that the Cardinal's Cap procur'd him by *Francis*, could not deface the Injury he had done *Wolsey*; in endeavouring to deprive him of the Administration of *Tournay*; but however the Cardinal might be induc'd by private Considerations to endeavour a Rupture with *France*, it is certain, the publick Reasons he gave for it had their Weight; for he complains, that several of the Jewels belonging to the Queen of *France* had been detain'd, contrary to the Treaty of Marriage between that Princess and *Lewis* XII. that the *French* had enter'd into a League Offensive and Defensive with the *Scots*, notwithstanding their late Treaty with *England*; and had assisted the late Duke of *Albany* in possessing himself of the Regency of that Kingdom, to the Prejudice of the Queen, the King's Sister, and excited the *Scots* to commit Acts of Hostility in *England*, tho' comprehended in the late Peace; that the *French* openly protected *Richard Dela Pole*, an *English* Fugitive and a Traytor; and lastly, that *England* ought never to sit still and see *France* extend her Conquests without opposing her.

Reasons  
given for a  
Rupture  
with *France*

On the other hand the old Ministers alledg'd, according to Lord *Herbert*, that to break a Treaty or League solemnly sworn, did seem a strange Counsel in any, but especially in a Divine; that for their parts, they conceiv'd the violating of Publick Faith, was to call God and Man in Judgment against them; they would not deny yet, but just

And  
against it.

A.D. 1515 Cause of dissolving Leagues might be given, but then that the wrong'd Party ought both to protest the Fault and denounce War, without which the Law of Nations, and even Mankind itself could not subsist.

A. 7 Hen. 8

But a late Reverend Writer (*Dr. Fiddes*) makes a Doubt here, whether the Lord *Herbert* has not given us his own Suggestions on this Occasion, as he has done on some others; for it is here suppos'd, that no Protest or Remonstrance had been made to the *French* on these Articles; which is directly contrary to Fact, as appears from the Instructions of the *English* Ambassador at the *French* Court; and if upon these Representations, Satisfaction could not be obtain'd, there seems to be no way left, but to have recourse to Arms. However, the King finding his Council divided, determin'd to take the middle way (at least for the present) and to assist the Emperor and *Francis Sforza*, Brother to the late Duke of *Milan*, with a Sum of Money privately, towards their recovering the *Milanesè*, rather than make himself a Principal in the War directly. But what reflects most upon the Cardinal of *York*, is, that he oblig'd *Francis Sforza* to stipulate to pay him a Pension of ten thousand Ducats a Year out of the *Milanesè*, when it should be recover'd; tho' as this Instrument was found among the Acts of State, and consequently must be done with the King's Knowledge, and possibly by his Direction, it is no more than some other celebrated Ministers have accepted from Foreign Princes on the like Occasion, without any Imputation on their Memories. But Covetousness is not the only Failing the generality of Writers charge the Cardinal of *York* with,

The King resolves to assist the Emperor against France.

Wolsey stipulates for a Pension.

they



they tell us that on his Preferment he became  
 exceſſive proud and imperious; that his Fa-  
 mily conſiſted of no leſs than eight hundred  
 Perſons, among whom were ſeveral Noble-  
 men, fifteen Knights, and forty Eſquires;  
 that whenever he went abroad, he was at-  
 tended like a Prince, the Cardinal's Hat was  
 carried before him in great State, and plac'd  
 upon the High-Altar in the King's Chapel,  
 when he went thither; that he was the firſt  
 Clergyman that was drefs'd in Silk in *Eng-  
 land*, and had his Horſes Furniture adorn'd  
 with Gold; that his Pride was inſupportable  
 to every Body. But none receiv'd greater  
 Mortifications from him than Dr. *Warham*  
 Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he carried his  
 Croſs erect in his Province, and even before  
 his Face, contrary to the Decisions of the  
 Church and State; and that the Archbiſhop  
 finding it in vain to contend with this Favour-  
 ite, reſign'd the Seals, and retir'd to his  
 Dioceſs; whereupon *Wolſey* was conſtituted  
 Lord Chancellor; beſides which he had  
 abundance of other Preferments, and enjoy'd  
 the beſt part of the Revenues of the Biſhop-  
 ricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, thoſe  
 Prelates being Foreigners and reſiding abroad.  
 Dr. *Fiddes*, the Cardinal's Hiſtorian, has en-  
 deavour'd to defend him againſt part of this  
 Charge; he obſerves, ' That the Noblemen,

*A.D. 1515*

*A. 7 Hen. 8*

He is  
 charg'd  
 with Pride,  
 Covetouſ-  
 neſs, &c.

' ſaid to be retain'd in his Family, rather  
 ' reſided there as in a Place of Education,  
 ' than under the Notion or Character of Ser-  
 ' vants, tho' upon any publick Occaſion,  
 ' they were ready to Honour the Cardinal,  
 ' as Maſter of ſo great a Family, or rather  
 ' of ſo ſplendid a Court, with their Atten-  
 ' dance. It was computed indeed, that his

A Defence  
 of *Wolſey*  
 by Dr.  
*Fiddes*.

A.D. 1515

A. 7 Hen. 8



Revenues, with the numerous Presents and Pensions that he receiv'd from abroad, annually exceeded the Revenues of the Crown. Tho' as to the Returns made to him from Foreign Courts, it has been mention'd to his Honour, by those who cannot be suspected of Partiality to him, that he never engag'd the King in any Alliance but what was for his Honour and Advantage; he was less culpable however, in making his private Views subservient to the Publick Good; what has been thought liable to Censure in his Conduct, was, that he did not make use of the great Power which he had over the King, to engage his Majesty's Attention to Affairs and Studies proper to him, but rather advis'd him to follow his Pleasures; that by Insinuations of this kind, he got the entire Administration of Affairs into his own Hands, without regard to the King's Dignity, not consulting what was proper for his Information. But notwithstanding the Lord *Herbet*, Bishop *Burnet*, and some other Modern Historians, have concurr'd in exhibiting this Charge, the Doctor suggests, that the Fact itself may very justly be question'd, for if we may believe an Enemy, he did not abuse the King's Favour in the manner those Historians have represented. After, says he, a share of the Publick Business was devolv'd by the King upon *Wolsey*, his Majesty, tho' in that respect more disengag'd and at liberty, yet being well dispos'd and instructed, and form'd for Empire, did not wholly neglect his Duty, but that he might employ his time both commendably and to advantage, applied himself to the Study of good Literature.

Literature. He sometimes entertain'd him-  
 self at his leisure Hours with Musick, but  
 he read with Care and Attention the Works  
 of *Aquinas*, and this he did by the Advice  
 of *Wolfey*, who was a profess'd Follower of  
 that Schoolman. This Advice to a young  
 Prince, concerning a method of Study,  
 which requires the greatest abstraction and  
 force of Mind, and is attended with Plea-  
 sures of a very different kind from the com-  
 mon and soft Entertainments of a Court,  
 does not seem perfectly to agree with the  
 Tradition of the Cardinal's Advice to the  
 King, that he should give himself up to  
 the neglect of his Studies, and the pursuit  
 of sensible Delights.

That a Charge without Proof, or shew  
 of Proof, had been brought against the  
 Cardinal, and on occasion too of the In-  
 fluence which his Advice had over the King,  
*That as a Churchman he was the Disgrace of*  
*his Profession, being lewd and vicious, exor-*  
*bitantly proud and ostentatious, and indeed the*  
*main Debaucher of his Sovereign Master.*

This Invective in the latter part of it is  
 more unjust, as it does not appear that the  
 King, tho' he might indulge himself in  
 certain criminal Liberties, yet gave himself  
 up to a very irregular and vicious Course  
 of Life. His Affair with the Lady, by  
 whom he had a natural Son, the Duke of  
*Richmond*, is not to be examin'd by the  
 strict Rules either of Morality or Reveal'd  
 Religion. Besides that Intrigue, I do not  
 know that during the Cardinal's Admini-  
 stration the King was charg'd, in respect to  
 his Morals, with any notorious Vices; the  
 great Disorders he fell into, were from the  
 time

A.D. 1515

A. 7 Hen. 8

A Defence  
 of Henry 8.  
 by Dr.  
 Fiddes.



A.D. 1515 ' time that he began to have less regard for  
 ' the Cardinal, and to govern himself by  
A. 7 Hen. 8 ' other Maxims, under a more powerful  
 ' Ascendant. He before delighted on proper  
 ' Occasions in pompous Shews, in Masques  
 ' and Banquets, and other Amusements com-  
 ' mon to all Courts; but we should be in-  
 ' jurious to the Character of succeeding Prin-  
 ' ces, in supposing that he was therefore cor-  
 ' rupted by them, or involv'd in those Con-  
 ' sequences to which they may sometimes  
 ' accidentally minister an Occasion. In his  
 ' younger Years, which is not a common  
 ' Character of Persons viciously dispos'd, he  
 ' was by Intervals studious and contempla-  
 ' tive, a lover of Learning and of learned  
 ' and good Men, whether Laymen or Ec-  
 ' clesiasticks; he always profess'd great Zeal  
 ' for Religion, and as to all the exterior  
 ' Forms and Rites of it, few Princes have  
 ' conducted themselves with a more visible  
 ' or strict regard. Upon what then can this  
 ' heavy Charge of his corrupting the King  
 ' be grounded, who for the time this Mini-  
 ' ster had any Influence over him, appears  
 ' to have been as regular in his moral Con-  
 ' duct, as most of the Princes who liv'd be-  
 ' fore him, or who have been since invested  
 ' with the Royal Dignity. '

A Parlia-  
 ment held. A Parliament was held on the 12th of  
*November* this Year, wherein several benefi-  
 cial Acts were made, which will be taken  
 Notice of at the Conclusion of this Reign.

A Synod  
 of the  
 Clergy. A Synod of the Clergy also assembled at  
 the same time, of whom the Pope's Agents  
 demanded a Supply to be employ'd in the  
*Turkish* Wars. To which the Clergy answer'd,  
 That they had advanc'd so much in defence of  
 the

the Church against *France*, that they were not in a Condition to raise further Subsidies. They insisted also, that by a Decree of the Council of *Constance*, no Imposition ought to be laid on the Clergy by the See of *Rome*, without the Concurrence of a General Council.

A.D. 1515

A.7 Hen.8.

The following Year, on the 11th of *February*, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Daughter at *Greenwich*, baptiz'd by the Name of *Mary*, afterwards Queen of *England*. And in the same Month died *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and Regent of *Castile*, who first obtain'd the Name of *Catholick*, which his Descendants the Kings of *Spain* have ever since enjoy'd. My Lord *Herbert* observes that he was deem'd the most active and politick Prince of his time. That he hardly took any rest himself, or suffer'd his Neighbours to take any. That no Man better knew how to serve his Turn on every Body, or to make their Ends conduce to his ; but he could not escape the Reputation of being false to his Friends and Allies, which the same noble Author observes is not consistent with true Wisdom. That true Reason of State subsists on such solid Maxims that it has no need of Deceit, there is no use of it among the Wise, being only a Supply to Ignorance among the ruder and worst kind of Statesmen. Another Writer says of this Prince, that he had great Qualities ; but Ambition caus'd him to sacrifice all sorts of Duties, even those of Religion, to politick Views.

A.D. 1516

A.8 Hen.8.

The Princess Mary born.

Ferdinand King of Arragon dies.

Upon the Death of *Ferdinand*, the Kingdoms of *Castile*, *Arragon* and *Navarre*, which comprehend all *Spain*, were united in his Grandson *Charles* ; (the Mother of that Prince, *Joanna* Queen of *Castile*, being disorder'd in her Senses) but as *Charles* was in the Low-Countries

Succeeded by his Grandson Charles V.

A.D. 1516 Countries at his Grandfather's Death; *Ferdinand* had constituted *Alphonso* his natural Son Regent of *Arragon*, and Cardinal *Ximenes* Regent of *Castile* till *Charles* should come into *Spain* and take the Government upon him. But I refer the Reader to the 13th Volume of *Modern History*, which treats of *Spain*, for a further Account of this Matter.

The Emperor marches against the French and Venetians in Milan, but retires suddenly.

Treaty between France and Spain at Noyon.

The Death of King *Ferdinand* very much disconcerted the Emperor's Measures, for he had engag'd to attack the *French* on the side of *Milan*, while *Ferdinand* shou'd make a Diversion in *Guienne*. However, *Maximilian* having receiv'd a considerable Sum of Money from the *English* to enable him to undertake that Expedition, and expecting a great deal more, he assembled an Army consisting of *Germans* and *Swiss*, and oblig'd the *French* and *Venetians* to raise the Siege of *Brescia*; after which he pursu'd them to the City of *Milan*, and was at the point-of reducing it, when the *Swiss* in his Army mutiny'd for their Pay, which oblig'd him to retire and disperse his Troops, without effecting any thing considerable; and *Charles*, the young King of *Spain*, being busied in taking Possession of his extensive Dominions, thought fit to submit to *France* till his Affairs were in a more settled condition; whereupon the Confederacy between the Pope, the Emperor, *Spain*, and *England*, came to nothing. A Treaty was afterwards entered into between *Charles* King of *Spain* and *Francis* the *French* King at *Noyon* on the 26th of *August*, 1516, whereby a Marriage was agreed on between his Catholick Majesty and *Louisa* the Daughter of *Francis*, then about two Years of Age. *Charles* also agreed to relinquish the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and

evacuate



and evacuate it within six Months, and engag'd that the Emperor shou'd restore *Vero-*  
*na* to the *Venetians*, on the Payment of two hundred thousand Crowns; notwithstanding which, a defensive Alliance was concluded on the 29th of *October* following, at *London*, between the Emperor, *England*, and *Spain*, where-  
 by the respective Princes engage to defend each other's Territories against any other Power that shou'd attack them, and adjusted their several Quota's of Men and Money. However, before the Year was ended, the Emperor accepted and ratify'd the Treaty of *Noyon*, which seems not very consistent with that of *London*; and indeed the Princes of *Europe* at that time appear to have had scarce any other Views in their Treaties than to amuse and impose upon each other.

The Emperor, who was a Pensioner at this time to the Court of *England*, in order to keep the King in Temper, and atone for the precipitate Retreat he had made from *Milan*, when it was generally suppos'd he wou'd have driven the *French* out of *Italy*, made *Henry* an Offer of resigning the Empire to him, and assisting him in the Conquest of the *Dutchy of Milan*. \* But whether the King did not think the Emperor sincere, or apprehended the Project impracticable, I don't find he gave any great Attention to it.

While the King of *England* was endeavouring to form Alliances to put a Stop to the growing Power of *France* abroad, he had constantly an Eye upon the *Scots*, who seldom fail'd of making a Diversion whenever they

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L 11

saw

A.D. 1516

A. 8 Hen. 8

An Alliance between the Emperor, *England*, and *Spain* at *London*.

The Emperor accedes to the Treaty of *Noyon*.

The Emperor offers to resign the Empire to King *Henry*.

A.D. 1516 saw *France* attack'd by the *English*; *Henry* therefore, in order to keep all quiet in *Scotland*,  
 A. 8 Hen 8  
 King *Henry* claims the Regency of *Scotland*.  
 The Duke of *Albany* opposes him.

had endeavour'd, as Uncle to the young King, to obtain the Regency of that Kingdom during his Minority, † or at least to get the Administration put into such Hands as might give him no Disturbance in case of a Rupture between *France* and *England*; but the Duke of *Albany* coming over from *France* in the Year 1515, on the Invitation of the Nobility, and taking the Regency upon him, *Henry* had reason to expect that Nation wou'd fall under the Direction of the Court of *France*, for the Duke of *Albany* was not only born and educated in the *French* Court, but had a great Estate in that Kingdom; and as his Inclinations and Interests were entirely *French*, he was constantly supply'd with Troops and Money from *France*, to enable him to depress the Friends of *England* in that Kingdom. Accordingly we find the Duke not long after his Return seiz'd the Person of the young King, took him out of the Hands of his Mother, and oblig'd that Princess and her Husband the Earl of *Angus* to fly into *England* for Protection. The Queen being big with Child, was oblig'd to stay some time with her Consort at *Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, where she was brought to bed of a Princess named *Margaret*, and upon her going abroad was invited by King *Henry* to come with the Earl her Husband to *London*; but the Duke of *Albany* had found means to reconcile the Earl to him, and prevail'd on him to return to *Scotland*; the Queen however accepted of her Brother's

The Queen Dowager of *Scotland* flies into *England*.

Brother's Invitation, and came to *London* in *A.D. 1516*  
*May, 1516.* *Henry* being affronted at the *A. 8 Hen. 8*  
*Usage* his Sister met with, and apprehensive  
of the ill consequence of suffering the Duke of  
*Albany*, his profess'd Enemy, to have the Go-  
vernment of the young King, and the Admini-  
stration of all Affairs, sent to the *Scots* to let  
them know, that unless they wou'd dismiss the  
Duke of *Albany*, and send him back to *France*  
they must expect to feel the Effects of his Dis-  
pleasure ; but upon the Regent's submitting  
himself to the King of *England*, and offering  
to be directed by him, it appears that *Henry*  
was reconcil'd to him, and thereupon con-  
cluded a Truce with *Scotland*, which was con-  
tinued from time to time ; whereupon the  
Regent went over to *France* in the Year 1517,  
where he continu'd for several Years, leaving  
the Administration in such Hands as gave the  
King of *England* no great Uneasiness.

The Re-  
gent recon-  
ciles himself  
to King  
*Henry* and  
returns to  
*France*.

In the mean time Cardinal *Wolsey* caus'd all *Wolsey* calls  
the Receivers and Collectors of the King's the Officers  
Revenues to give a very strict Account of their of the King's  
Stewardship, whereupon the Lord *Herbert* Revenues  
observes, that he had so much of the good to an Ac-  
Servant to suffer no body to impose upon his count.  
Master but himself : He caus'd Perjury also Justice duly  
to be severely punish'd, and erected Courts administred  
to defend the poor from the Oppressions of by him.  
the Great ; nor can it be deny'd, says that  
noble Writer, that the Cardinal in all Affairs  
of publick Judicature was studiously just and  
impartial, and severely punish'd all Disorders  
whether relating to the Ecclesiastical or Civil  
Government. \* Among the Reformations  
L 112 propos'd

\* Herbert 27. Godw. Ann. p. 14.



The Calendar propos'd by the Council of *Lateran*, which was sitting at this time, that of reforming the Calendar it appears was one, a Breve being sent to *England*, dated the 16th of *July*, 1516, inviting the King to send some learned Divines and Astronomers to *Rome* to assist in that Regulation.

A.D. 1517 A Tumult happen'd in *London* in the Beginning of the following Year, occasion'd by the Confluence of Foreigners, who were suffer'd to carry on their Trades and other Employments in the City, to the Prejudice of the Natives, and sometimes abus'd and insulted them, by the connivance of the Government. Particularly, it is related, that one *Bard*, a *Lombard* (probably a Banker, as those of that Country generally were) perswaded the Wife of a certain Citizen to elope from her Husband, and bring Part of his Plate with her, both which he refus'd to restore when demanded, but on the contrary, arrested the Husband, and oblig'd him to pay for his Wife's Board. Upon this, and some other Outrages committed by Foreigners, a Complaint was made to the Council-Board, but met with no redress, which made the Strangers still more insolent; and *Bard* being in the Royal Gallery at *Richmond* with some other Foreigners, who made a Jest of his keeping an *Englishman's* Wife, one of them answer'd, if he had the Mayor's Wife he wou'd serve him in the same Manner; whereupon some Citizens that were in the Gallery threatned to be reveng'd on them: And Doctor *Beal*, a celebrated Preacher, was prevail'd on by one *Lincoln* a Broker to read a Bill of Complaint he had drawn up against Foreigners in the Pulpit, by which  
and

and some other Practices of the like Nature, *A.D. 1517*  
 a Tumult was rais'd, six or seven hundred  
 Apprentices assembled on *May-day* in the *A. 9 Hen 8*  
 Evening, broke open the Prisons, and let  
 out several Persons who had been committed  
 for abusing Strangers, kill'd some Foreigners,  
 and rifled their Houses, of which the Cardi-  
 nal receiving Intelligence, fortified his House,  
 not knowing how far their Resentment might  
 reach. However, the Rioters dispers'd and  
 retir'd to their Dwellings about three in the  
 Morning; whereupon the Government sent a  
 Body of Troops into the City, and assisted  
 the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs in apprehending  
 of between two and three hundred of the prin-  
 cipal Offenders, who were convicted of High  
 Treason. However, only *Lincoln* and four  
 or five of the principal Rioters were executed  
 as Traitors, and nine or ten more hang'd :  
 The rest being brought in their Shirts with  
 Halters about their Necks before the King as  
 he sat on his Throne in *Westminster-Hall*, were  
 all pardon'd at the Intercessions of the Queens  
 of *England, France* and *Scotland*,\* who all resided  
 at this time in the *English* Court, and the Gib-  
 bets that had been erected in several Parts of  
 the City in *Terrorem* were taken down. The  
 Day this Tumult was rais'd was long after  
 call'd *the Evil May-day*.

The chief  
 of them  
 executed.  
 The rest  
 pardon'd.

A little after the suppressing this Insurrec-  
 tion, the Kingdom was again afflicted with  
 the Sweating Sickness, which being peculiar  
 almost to this Nation, was call'd the *Sudor An-*  
*glicus*. It generally carried off the Patient in  
 three Hours. In some Towns one half of the  
 People

The sweat-  
 ing Sick-  
 ness sweeps  
 away a-  
 bundance  
 of People.

\* Godwyn Ann. 1517. p. 15.

A.D. 1517 People were swept away by it, and in others  
 a Third ; and the King was oblig'd to leave  
 A. 9 Hen. 8 *London* and adjourn three of the Terms this  
 Year, and the next Year another, which  
 shews that this Distemper rag'd at least a Year  
 Especially in *England* at this time. Mr. *Woodward* and  
 at *Oxford*. some other Writers relate, that the University  
 of *Oxford* was almost dispeopled by this pesti-  
 lential Disease, which he ascribes chiefly to the  
 Stagnation of the Waters in the adjacent  
 Meadows, the Rivers *Isis* and *Cherwel* being  
 almost choak'd up, which might possibly be  
 one Reason the Distemper rag'd to a greater  
 Degree here than in other Towns ; and yet  
 we find that the Term was adjourn'd hither  
 from *Westminster* in the Year 1518, I presume  
 after *Oxford* was suppos'd to be more health-  
 ful than it had been the preceding Year ; tho'  
 I'm apt to believe the Government were de-  
 ceiv'd in their Intelligence, for we find the  
 Term was held but one Day at *Oxford*, and  
 then adjourn'd back again to *Westminster*.

The Pope  
 proposes a  
 Crusade  
 against the  
 Turks. The Treasury of the Church being much  
 exhausted by the late Wars, the Pope pro-  
 pos'd a General Crusade, in order to replenish  
 his Coffers, for the Turks had made a consi-  
 derable Progress in their Conquests of late  
 Years, which gave some colour for this Ex-  
 pedition ; and we find all the Princes of  
 Christendom expressing a great Readiness to  
 enter into this Holy War, but they excus'd  
 themselves afterwards however from engaging  
 in it by the Apprehensions they had, their  
 Dominions might be insulted by their Neigh-  
 bours in their Absence, or on some other spe-  
 cious Pretences ; whereupon the Proposal for  
 their uniting in a War against the Infidels  
 came to little, and this put the Pope upon  
 other



other Projects for raising Money : He sent a Bull to *England* particularly, whereby he empower'd Cardinal *Wolsey* to collect a Tenth from all the Clergy in the King's Dominions for the Defence of the Church, authorising him, where any Persons refus'd Payment, to compel them by Deprivation, Ecclesiastical Censures or other Punishments, to raise the Money : He was even commission'd, in case the Clergy were found refractory, to invoke the Secular Arm, and to depute others to act, according to the Tenour of his Instructions ; to inflict pecuniary Mulcts, and make Seizures of any Goods or Emoluments belonging to the Clergy, except Books, Vestments, or other Utensils appropriated to sacred Uses ; and these Powers might be executed in their most ample Extent, notwithstanding any Usages or former Customs, Indulgences or special Exemptions from the Apostolick See, to the contrary.

A.D. 1517

A. 9 Hen. 8



The Sovereign Pontiff, in this Brief, expresseth himself, as having the supreme and absolute Dominion, not only over the Spiritual State, but the Temporal Possessions of the Church ; but the preaching up the Doctrine of Indulgences to raise Money here and in other Parts of *Europe* gave still greater Offence. It had been taught, and generally believ'd indeed, for four or five Centuries, that the Pope, out of the inexhaustible Treasure of the Church, founded in the Merits of Christ, the Holy Virgin and other Saints, had a Power of distributing Indulgences, on certain Conditions prescrib'd by him, to the greatest and most profligate Sinners for the plenary Remission of their Sins : But in the Indulgences, which were expos'd to Sale at this time, there

The Offering Indulgences to all sorts of People for Money, gives great Offence.

was

*A.D.* 1517 was no Distinction made, either of Persons or Sins, but all People, how vile and profligate soever, were promis'd everlasting Happiness on purchasing them, and not only a Pardon for their own Sins, but the Sins of their dead Friends, suppos'd to be in Purgatory. Collectors were assign'd in every part of *Europe* to receive the Money arising from these Indulgences, and Preachers to shew the great Advantages of them. In *Saxony* the *Jacobins* were appointed to preach up the Benefit of them, in which the *Austin-Friars* having been formerly employ'd, were extremely disgusted, and took upon them to expose and ridicule the Impiety and Absurdity of setting Indulgences to Sale in this scandalous manner, but none more than *Martin Luther*, a Doctor of Divinity in the University of *Wittenberg*, then lately founded by *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*. He observ'd that the Collectors kept their Offices, or rather Shops, in Taverns, where part of the Money was spent in Riot and Excess; and what gave yet greater Offence was, the Pope's having appropriated part of the Money before it was rais'd towards the making a Provision for his Sister and some other Relations, whereas it was pretended to be design'd either for the Holy War, or the finishing and adorning *St. Peter's* in *Rome*. But *Luther* did not only expose these scandalous Appropriations, and the manner in which the Money was levied, with the Vices of the Collectors, but proceeded afterwards to question whether there was any Foundation for this Doctrine in Scripture, and at length whether the Pope's Authority it self was not usurp'd; in which being supported by his Sovereign the Duke of *Saxony* and some other *German* Princes, he

The *Jacobins*, and particularly *Martin Luther*, ridicule these Indulgences.

Which gave Birth to the Reformation.

con-

contributed largely to that Reformation of the Church, which soon after follow'd in many of the Kingdoms of *Europe*. But to return from this Digression.

The *French* King being very uneasy while *Tournay* remain'd in the Hands of the *English*, apply'd himself to the Cardinal, to whom he made some considerable Presents, and promis'd an Equivalent for that Bishoprick, which had such an Effect on his Eminence, that he propos'd the Matter to King *Henry*, representing at the same time, that since the House of *Austria* was of late so much aggrandiz'd by the Accession of *Spain* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, there was more Reason to be apprehensive of the Power of that House than of *France*: That *Tournay* also was but a Charge to him, and cost the King at least twelve thousand Pounds *per Ann.* to keep; and since the *French* King was willing to give him a good Consideration for parting with it, it was better to resign it on these Terms than hazard a War with *France* by retaining it; whereupon the King consented to receive an Embassy from *France* to treat on that Subject.

In the mean time, as the Pope sent his Legates to the rest of the Courts in *Europe* to engage the respective Princes in a five Years Truce, and an offensive Alliance against the *Turks*, he deputed Cardinal *Campeins* on the same Errand to *England*, which *Wolsey* being acquainted with, immediately dispatch'd an Agent to *Rome*, and procur'd himself to be join'd in Commission with *Campeins*. The *Italian* Legate arriv'd in *England* the latter end of *July*, and having but a very mean Equipage, *Wolsey* order'd several of his Servants to attend him at his Publick Entry, and lent

A.D. 1518

A 10 Hen. 8

The French make Proposals concerning Tournay.

Cardinal Campeins and Wolsey made Legates.

Campeins his publick Entry.



A.D. 1518 him twelve Mules, with rich Furniture, that  
 he might make a Figurh suitable to his Cha-  
 A. 10 Hen. 8 racter ; but some of the Mules happening to  
 fall and break the Sumpters they carried, dis-  
 cover'd they were all empty, which occasion'd  
 abundance of Laughter ; tho' had the People  
 consider'd that all the Legate's empty Trunks  
 were to be fill'd out of their Purfes before he  
 left *England*, they would probably have been  
 more serious.

The Le-  
 gate's Com-  
 mission.

By the Commission granted to the two Le-  
 gates, they were to endeavour to procure a  
 Supply from the Clergy for the War against  
 the Infidels, and to persuade the King of *Eng-  
 land* to join in an offensive Alliance with the  
 rest of the Princes of *Europe* against the *Turks* ;  
 and tho' the Pope had but little Hopes of  
 actually engaging them in a Crusade, yet he  
 did not despair of raising considerable Contri-  
 butions amongst them for excusing them from  
 that Service ; and provided his Coffers were  
 fill'd, he was not very solicitous for the Event  
 of that War.

The Bi-  
 shoprick of  
*Bath* and  
*Wells* given  
 to *Wolsey*  
 on the Re-  
 moval of  
 Cardinal  
*Adrian*.

That *Wolsey* might be induc'd to assist the  
 Pope in this Project, he was not only made  
 the Pope's Legate, but had the Administra-  
 tion of the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells* con-  
 ferr'd on him on the Deprivation of Cardinal  
*Adrian*, the late Bishop of that See, who was  
 degraded for being in a Conspiracy against  
 the Pope ; tho' his Holiness pretended it was  
 at the Instance of *Wolsey*, who had long soli-  
 cited his Removal, on Account of some ill  
 Offices *Adrian* had done him at *Rome*.

While the two Legates were endeavouring  
 to engage King *Henry* in an Alliance against  
 the *Turk*, or which serv'd the Designs of his  
 Holiness as well, proposing Ways and Means  
 for

for raising Money to be put into the Pope's Hands, under Pretence of employing it in an Enterprize of that Nature, Ambassadors arriv'd from *France* to put the last Hand to the Treaty concerning *Tournay*; but that it might not be suppos'd they came over solely with that View, they first treated with the *English* Ministry concerning the Alliance which the Pope and all the Princes of *Europe* were entering into for the Defence of *Christendom* against the Infidels. The Pope and Legates labour'd hard to bring the several Powers into an *offensive* Alliance against the *Turks*, which would have given the Holy See a good Pretence to have demanded Supplies for the War; but his Holiness was at length oblig'd to be satisfy'd with a defensive Alliance\*. This

M m m 2                      Treaty

*A.D. 1518*  
*A 10 Hen. 8*  
 The French Ambassadors arrive to treat concerning *Tournay*.

\* By this Treaty the several contracting Powers stipulated, That a perfect Friendship should continue for ever between them and their respective Successors; and that if any of them, or a Stranger, should invade a Confederate, the rest should give the Aggressor an Admonition to desist and make Reparation, which if he did not within a Month, they should declare themselves his Enemies, and two Months after make War upon him by Sea and Land at an equal Charge: But in case of a Civil War, none of the Contractors should intermeddle, unless it was maintain'd by a Foreign Force. That none of the Confederates should suffer their Subjects to bear Arms against another, on pain of being deem'd Violators of the Treaty. That no Confederate should take the Vassal or Subject of another into his Protection, or suffer a Rebel, Traytor, or Fugitive, of another Confederate, to remain in his Dominions. This Alliance was concluded on the 2d of October, 1518, which being an excellent Precedent for a Peace for future Ages, induc'd the Lord Herbert, he says, to recite it, from whom I have extracted thus much, to shew with what Reason the Court of England afterwards join'd the Emperor against King Francis, who had broke thro' it in several Instances, and must observe, that this is almost the only Treaty that Rapin has not recited in the Reign of Hen. VIII. which it is evident he suppress'd, that it might not appear how flagrantly the French King afterwards broke thro' it, and that he might be at Liberty to blacken the Cardinal and the English Ministry for joining with the Emperor against France.

An Abstract of the Treaty between the Christian Princes of Europe.

A.D. 1518

101 Hen. 8

The Substance of the Treaty between France and England.

A Match between the Dauphin and Princess Mary.

The Consideration for *Tournay*.

An Interview between the two Kings agreed on.

Treaty being concluded, the Restitution of *Tournay* to the *French*, and a Match between the Dauphin and the Princess *Mary*, was propos'd by the *French* Ambassadors, and at length the following Articles were agreed on between *France* and *England*, † viz. That the Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess *Mary* should be solemniz'd when the Dauphin arriv'd at fourteen Years of Age (for he was not two at this time): That *Henry* should give a Portion of 333,000 Crowns with the Princess, and each Party bound himself in a Bond of 500,000 Crowns for the Performance of the Marriage-Contract, and her Jointure was to be equal to that of *Anne of Bretagne*, or that of any former Queen of *France*.

For the Restitution of *Tournay* the *French* King was to pay 600,000 Crowns, besides 50,000 Livres due from the Inhabitants to King *Henry*; but out of these the Portion of the Princess *Mary* was to be deducted.

An Interview also was agreed upon between the two Monarchs to be held at *Sandinsfeldt*, between *Ardres* and *Guisnes*. And lastly, Security was given for paying Cardinal *Wolsey* 12,000 Livres per Ann. in Consideration of his relinquishing the Bishoprick of *Tournay*. These Treaties were sign'd the 14th of *October*, and having been ratified by the respective Princes, the King and Queen of *France*, for their Son the Dauphin, contracted Espousals with the Princess *Mary* by Proxy.

But I should have remember'd, that it was stipulated by a private Article in this Treaty,



Treaty, That the *French* King should not suffer the Duke of *Albany* to return to *Scotland*, the Court of *England* insisting that it was not safe to trust the young King in the Hands of one who was next Heir to the Crown, and accordingly the Duke was detain'd in *France* till there happen'd a Misunderstanding between the Courts of *France* and *England*. *Margaret*, Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, having thus in Effect procur'd the Banishment of her Enemy, return'd again to that Kingdom.

A.D. 1518

A 10 Hen. 8

The Duke of *Albany* detain'd in *France* by this Treaty.

*Wolfey* about this time found Means to get Cardinal *Campeins* recall'd from *England*, and himself constituted sole Legate *a Latere* in this Kingdom. He was empower'd to visit both the Monasteries and the Secular Clergy, and to dispense with all Ecclesiastical Laws for one Year, whereby the Authority of the Bishops and Clergy was extremely abridg'd; but what gave them the greatest Offence, was the Character he had given them at the Court of *Rome*, as is evident from the Bull \* that conferr'd these Powers upon him, where the Clergy are said *to be given up to a reprobate Sense*. Upon this Accession of Power, if we may credit his Enemy *Polydore*, the Cardinal became excessive proud: He celebrated Mass on Festivals like the Pope, Bishops and Abbots serv'd him, and Dukes gave him Water and the Towel. When he went Abroad he had two Crosses carried before him by two tall Priests, mounted on great Horses; but this, says that Writer, was a Trifle compar'd with the Authority he assum'd in his Legate's Court,

Cardinal *Wolfey* sole Legate, his great Authority.

Bull for a general Visitation.

\* Burnet, Vol. 1. p. 19.

A.D. 1519

A. 11 Hen. 8



Court, of which having appointed Dr. *Allen* Judge, a Man of no Morals, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there; every Man's Life was strictly enquir'd into, and all his Failings severely punish'd if he did not atone for them by a Bribe; the Clergy particularly being threaten'd with Expulsion, were glad to compound for their Faults: Causes relating to Wills and Administrations he claim'd the Cognizance of, and conferr'd Ecclesiastical Preferments on whom he pleas'd: Of which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* complaining to the King, his Majesty answer'd, *That he should not have heard it but by him, adding, that no Man was so blind as in his own House; therefore pray Father, said the King, go to Wolfsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it:* Whereupon the Archbishop represented to the Cardinal, that in meddling with Wills he assum'd a Power not claim'd by the Pope, and that he usurp'd on the Rights of the Nobility by disposing of Livings in their Patronage; for which, says the same Writer, he only hated the Archbishop so much the more, being already offended with him because he subscrib'd himself in a Letter, *Your Brother, W. Cant.* But *Allen* his Agent being accus'd by *John Loudon*, a Priest, of some illegal Proceedings, which were fully prov'd, the King himself reprehended *Wolfsey* severely, which made him act more cautiously afterwards. \*

*Wolfsey* reprov'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*

And by the King.

*Maximilian* dies.

In the mean time *Maximilian* the Emperor (or rather King of the *Romans*, for he was never crown'd Emperor) dying on the 12th of

of *February*, 1519, there arose a mighty Contest between *Charles* King of *Spain* and *Francis* King of *France* to succeed him in the Empire. The Pope, it seems, was not inclin'd to either, for they had both got Footing in *Italy*, and he was afraid of being brought under the Power of one of them. King *Henry* imagining the Electors would chuse some third Person, sent a Minister (*Richard Pace*) to the Diet to sound the Electors, whether he might not hope for Success if he declar'd himself a Candidate; but *Pace* let him know it was now too late to propose it. The Electors of *Mentz*, *Colen* and *Triers*, indeed seem'd inclin'd to him, and he might have stood fair for the Empire if he had apply'd in time; but the Matter was so far gone that it was in vain to stir, whereupon the King dropp'd his Pretensions, and on the 28th of *June*, *Charles* King of *Spain* was elected Emperor by the Name of *Charles V.* At which *Francis* was so piqu'd, that he seem'd determin'd to give the new Emperor all the Disturbance he could create him; for notwithstanding *Charles* was now possess'd of very large Territories, much superior to those of *France*, yet as they lay at a Distance from each other, and both the *Spaniards* and  *Germans* had shewn themselves averse to his Government, and exercis'd him with continual Insurrections, *France* did not doubt yet of being a Match for his Competitor, provided he could prevail on the Court of *England* to enter into an Alliance with him, or at least to stand Neuter. *Charles* had much the same Sentiments; he was conscious that if a Quarrel happen'd between him and *France*, it would be in the Power of *England* to incline the Balance

A.D. 1519

A. 111 Hen. 8

*Francis* and *Charles* Candidates for the Empire. King *Henry* aspires to it.

*Charles* King of *Spain* elected Emperor.

*Charles* and *Francis* endeavour to gain the Friendship of *England*.



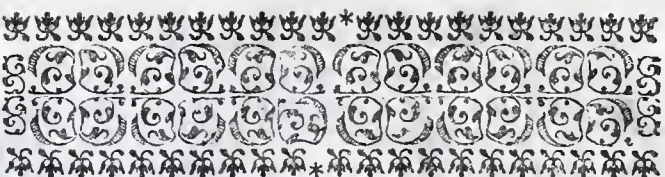
*A.D.* 1519 Balance either way ; whereupon both Parties took such Measures as they thought most conducing to preserve the Friendship of the King of *England*, among which the gaining of the Cardinal was look'd upon as a considerable Step. Whereupon *Wolsey* daily receiv'd Presents from both Princes, with Promises of all the Service they could do him, stiling him in their Letters, *their Friend and their Father*, and admiring his consummate Wisdom and Virtue, nothing of which did the Cardinal conceal from his Master, 'tis said, who thereupon entertain'd still a greater Opinion of the Fidelity and Merit of his Favourite. The *French* King, to express his Devotion for the Cardinal, authoriz'd him to adjust the Ceremonies between him and *Henry* at their intended Interview the following Year ; and as an Instance of his Affection for the King his Master, desir'd he would stand Godfather to his second Son, which his Majesty agreed to, and gave him his own Name, this Prince afterwards enjoying the Crown of *France* by the Name of *Henry II.* But what engag'd the Cardinal most in the Interest of the *French* King, was the Promise he had made him of procuring him the Votes of fourteen Cardinals if he stood Candidate for the Papacy on the next Vacancy ; but after *Charles* was chosen Emperor, and had offer'd the Cardinal his Interest in that Particular, which was look'd upon to be much superior to that of the *French* King's, it is suggested by most of our Writers that *Wolsey* became very cool towards *Francis*, and seem'd to incline most to his Rival the Emperor. \*

*A. 11 Hen 8*  
*Wolsey*  
 courted by  
 them.

*Henry*  
 stands  
 Godfather  
 to *Hen. II.*  
 of *France.*

*Charles* and  
*Francis*  
 promise  
 their In-  
 terest to  
 elect *Wol-*  
*sey* Pope.

THE



T H E  
T A B L E  
O F T H E  
Eighteenth Volume

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